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- ART. I. — 1. *Lettres écrites à un Provincial*, par BLAISE PASCAL. *Précédées d'un Eloge de Pascal*, par M. BORDAS DEMOULIN. Paris : Librairie de Firmin Didot, Frères. 1842. 12mo. pp. 395.
2. *Pensées de Pascal, précédées de sa Vie*, par MADAME PERIER, sa Sœur. Paris : Firmin Didot. 1842. 12mo. pp. 504.

GREAT precocity of genius, however developed or employed, seldom fails to excite at least as much alarm and pity as admiration in the judicious spectator. If not in itself a token of disease already formed, and working as a stimulus on the brain, it is sure to lead quickly to some morbid action of the physical frame, and ere long to dry up the fountains of life. The skilful horticulturist, by a forcing process, can compel the branch of a tree to make a premature and excessive display of fruit ; but at the end of the year the limb is sure to perish. The energies of mind are equally exhausted, when compelled to yield their harvest out of season. The great law of compensation, which we find, on close scrutiny, to obtain everywhere in the scheme of Providence respecting mankind, under the glaring inequalities which appear on a superficial view, applies in a much greater degree than we are apt to imagine to the powers of the intellect. It seems as if only a given amount of work can be done. If more is accomplished at an early period, a shorter term of life remains for further achievements. So firmly is this truth established by uniform observation, that a

note of lamentation, a mournful presentiment, always mingles with the admiring applause which greets every new and wonderful effort of a youthful prodigy. We mourn that this early excellence should be purchased at so high a price, — that premature strength and beauty of mind should be doomed to premature decay.

Blaise Pascal, the boy Euclid, the contemporary and peer of Torricelli, Huygens, and Descartes, the scourge of the Jesuits, the boast of the Port Royal school of theologians and philosophers, the earliest writer of correct and elegant French prose, the master in eloquence of Bossuet, and the object of the unwilling homage even of Voltaire, died at the age of thirty-nine. All his important writings, except the "Thoughts," which was a posthumous publication, appeared several years before his death; and his most valuable contributions to science were made before he was thirty. As a boy, he seemed miraculously endowed, and the abundant promise of his youth was fully sustained by the rich fruit of his early manhood. Bodily weakness and suffering, to which he was a lifelong martyr, far from impairing, seemed only to heighten the preternatural acuteness and strength of his intellect, as a hectic flush improves the beauty and expressiveness of the features. All that he accomplished in science and philosophy, great as was its intrinsic value, only leaves the impression that he had much in reserve. His discoveries and inventions are rather the indications, than the full fruits, of the vigor and comprehensiveness of his genius. They showed what he might have done, if his ambition had been greater, or if it had not been so early checked and turned into a different channel by religious enthusiasm. One of the most remarkable of his scientific labors, his solution of certain problems relating to the cycloid, a task which had been proposed to all the geometers of Europe as a trial of strength, and which they had failed to accomplish, was executed by him as a diversion, during the weary and sleepless hours entailed upon him by wasting disease, that confined him to his couch, and made him incapable of holding a pen. As he had renounced science for a long time, the demonstrations remained for many days floating in his memory, before he even thought of committing them to paper. This he finally did at the solicitation of a friend, and performed the whole work of preparing them for the press in eight days. This

effort established his reputation as the first geometer of his time ; but the fame thus acquired was only another garland to be thrown on the tomb to which he was hastening. He heeded it not ; for religious exercises now absorbed his whole attention, and the immortal "Thoughts," the ablest and most eloquent apology for Christianity ever published in France, were the sole occupation of his dying hours.

No full and satisfactory account of his life and works has ever appeared. There are eulogies upon him in plenty, but they give only a meagre and fragmentary view of his labors, and supply few materials for a complete portrait of his character and genius. The memoir of him by his sister, Madame Perier, who shared the fervor of his religious feelings, is short, and gives us little more than a record of his bodily sufferings, and illustrations of the remarkable purity, generosity, severity of principle, and self-devotion, which characterized his whole life. We must make allowance for the bias of sisterly affection and pride ; but there is no cause to doubt the honest simplicity of the writer's intentions, and the anecdotes which she relates are authentic and interesting. Later authors among his countrymen, though they have added but few facts to his biography, have done full justice to his scientific merits, have celebrated his wit, his acuteness, and his eloquence, and have paid a willing tribute of admiration to the unequalled vigor, terseness, and purity of his style. But they have not fully appreciated his depth of thought and originality in speculation, his reasoning power, his sharp observation of human nature, or the consecration of all the traits of his genius by the most fervid piety. His current reputation as a philosophical thinker and eloquent advocate of religion will be more increased than diminished by the most rigid examination of his works.

Blaise Pascal was born in the summer of 1623, at Clermont, the capital of the province of Auvergne, in France. His father, Etienne Pascal, who had himself attained considerable reputation as a man of science and letters, superintended the education of his only son with rare devotion and judgment. That he might obtain greater facilities for instruction, he gave up the office which he had held at Clermont, and came to reside in Paris when Blaise was but eight years old. As the mother had died five years before, the boy was entirely dependent on paternal aid, and the signs

which he had already given of extraordinary natural endowments were enough to determine the father not to enter him at any college, but to take the whole task of his education on himself. So precious, though so frail, a gift of Providence, the delicacy of his bodily constitution being already apparent, was not lightly to be intrusted to the hands of strangers. The eager curiosity of the boy, fostered by his clear and quick perceptions of things, was not to be satisfied with the narrow range of studies at first allotted to him in consideration for his health. His father was wont to converse freely with him in answering his inquiries about the causes of phenomena that attracted his notice, and thus, without knowing it, probably stimulated his mind more than if he had allowed him to study the same subjects in books. To the young, oral instruction is vastly more exciting and effective than the most judicious selection of reading and exercises for the memory. The intention of the elder Pascal was, that his son should study only the languages during his tender years, with a view to cultivate the memory and the taste, while the more manly and exacting pursuits of mathematical and physical science were to be the employment of his early manhood. This wise scheme was frustrated by circumstances and the precocity of the child's genius.

The elder Pascal belonged to a small association of scientific men, among whom were Mersenne, Roberval, Le Pailleur, and Carcavi, who came together occasionally, in an informal way, to discuss new inventions and discoveries, and who kept up a correspondence with persons in the provinces and in foreign countries, who were interested in the same pursuits. They met in turn at the houses of the several members, and were united as much by personal regard as by the similarity of their tastes and occupations. The Academy of Sciences, which was established in 1666, was formed out of this society. Young Pascal was usually present at the meetings when they were held at his father's house, and the conversations which he heard probably stimulated his curiosity the more from the very fact that he was not allowed to study the subjects of the debate in books. When he was but twelve years old, his sister tells us, he wrote a short treatise upon sounds, in which he endeavoured to show why a plate, after it had been struck by a knife, immediately ceased ringing if it was touched by the hand. He was eager to know

the nature of geometry, of which he had often heard the associates speak. His father told him generally, that it related to the measurement of bodies, and showed how to construct figures with accuracy, and to ascertain their relations to each other. More information was refused ; but a promise was given, that he should study the subject after he had learned enough Latin and Greek. The importunate curiosity of the boy could not tolerate this delay. During his leisure hours, he shut himself up in a chamber, and with a piece of charcoal traced figures upon the floor, such as parallelograms, triangles, and circles, seeking to find their relative dimensions. He knew not even the names of these figures, but called a circle a *round*, and a line a *bar*. Definitions and axioms he framed to suit himself, and in this way proceeded by degrees, as we are told, till he came to a knowledge of the thirty-second proposition of Euclid, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. While thus engaged, he was one day surprised by his father, who was naturally amazed at the progress made under such circumstances, and ran immediately to communicate the fact to his intimate friend, Le Pailleur. After this discovery, no further restraint was put upon the boy's genius. Euclid's "Elements" were given to him, and he read the book by himself, without asking any aid, before he was thirteen years old.

This account is given by the elder sister, who was in the family at the time, and must have known the facts ; and as her character does not allow her veracity to be questioned, there seems no room to doubt its substantial accuracy. It was published, also, when some of the associates of the elder Pascal were still alive, who could have refuted any misstatement. Yet the story seems so marvellous, that many have considered it a mere fable. The only part of the statement that is really incredible, however, is the explanation of the process, or method, by which the boy arrived at such astonishing results. The order in which geometry is taught in the books is surely the very reverse of that in which the great truths of this science were first discovered. Instead of beginning with axioms and definitions, and advancing through the more simple propositions to the more complex, the process must have begun with the discovery, either by accident or measurement, of some advanced the-

orem, and, in seeking to demonstrate this, subsidiary truths came to light as the media of proof. Pythagoras certainly was acquainted with the famous proposition about the square of the hypotenuse, before he was able to demonstrate it. Euclid teaches the elements synthetically; he discovered them by analysis. Now, if we suppose that Pascal, in the scientific meetings at his father's house, had overheard mention of the fact that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, and endeavoured to discover the proof of this theorem, the story ceases to be incredible, or even very remarkable. If we consider the astonishing acuteness and vigor of his mind, as subsequently displayed in other ways, it seems quite probable, that he succeeded in inscribing a triangle in a circle, and in ascertaining that an angle at the centre is twice as great as one at the circumference standing upon the same arc, whence the passage to the truth he was seeking to demonstrate is obvious. He may have found out more or less than this; the account on which we rely being quite indefinite as to the particulars of his achievement. The only thing really marvellous about it is, that a boy twelve years of age, without advice or instigation, should have troubled himself at all about the matter.

His aptitude for mathematical investigations soon appeared in a manner that admits no doubt nor cavil. He now took an active share in the discussions that were held by his father with his scientific associates, and when he was but sixteen years old, he composed a short treatise on conic sections, which was considered as a prodigy of genius. It was published in 1640, and astonished Descartes himself, who persisted in maintaining that it was the work of Pascal's instructors, as he could not believe it was the production of a child. But the progress of his studies was now interrupted by domestic misfortunes. His father incurred the resentment of Richelieu, by offering some opposition to an arbitrary plan for cutting short the income attached to the Hôtel de Ville. An order was made out for committing him to the Bastille; but obtaining seasonable notice of it, he fled from Paris, and concealed himself in his native province of Auvergne. A singular circumstance aided the talents and filial piety of his children, to which he was at last indebted for restoration from exile. The cardinal, it is well known, had a passion for dramatic performances, and even wrote a

play himself, which was quite bad enough to be worthy of a prime-minister. He took a fancy about this time, that a tragi-comedy by Scudéri, called "*L'Amour Tyrannique*," should be represented in his presence by a party of young girls. The Duchess d'Aiguillon, who had charge of the affair, selected Jacqueline Pascal, then about thirteen years old, the younger sister of Blaise, to be one of the performers. The permission of the elder sister, afterwards Madame Perier, who was the head of the family during the absence of the father, was asked ; but she coldly answered, that they did not consider themselves under any great obligation at that time to please the cardinal. The duchess persisted in her request, and hinted that the pardon of the father might reward them for compliance. They yielded to this suggestion, and the representation took place on the 3d of April, 1639. Jacqueline acted her part like a little fairy, and her grace and spirit quite captivated the spectators, and excited all the good feelings of Richelieu. It had been arranged, that the little actress should approach the minister at the close of the piece, and recite some verses pleading for the restoration of her father. She did so with a degree of simplicity and earnestness that delighted the cardinal, who embraced her as soon as she had finished, and exclaimed, "Yes, my child, I grant all that you ask for ; write to your father, that he may immediately return with safety." The kind duchess then spoke with strong commendation of the merits of the family, and added, pointing to Blaise, who was standing near, "There is the son, who is but fifteen years old, and is already a distinguished mathematician."

The elder Pascal returned to Paris, and was received with great kindness by Richelieu, who soon afterwards appointed him to an honorable and lucrative office in the government of Rouen. He removed his family to that city, and the numerous accounts and calculations that were necessary in his official business were confided to his son. Weary of the prolix and monotonous processes of arithmetic, the young man endeavoured to invent some mechanical means of executing the work. After two years of intense application, he produced the celebrated arithmetical machine which bears his name. It was a marvellous effort for a boy of nineteen. Leibnitz speaks of it with admiration, and made some attempts to improve it ; and in our own day, the magnificent

project of Mr. Babbage, which seems fated never to be any thing more than a project, is a mere revival and amplification of the ingenious contrivance of the young Frenchman. Pascal's machine consists of a kind of framework, supporting several parallel bars, which turn on their axes, each one having two series of numbers inscribed upon it. A combination of wheels and pinions behind directs the revolution of these bars, and after the machine is set for a particular process, the numbers forming the result appear through the opening in the face of the instrument. The complexity of the work prevents us from giving a more detailed description of it. It is enough to say, that it executes all the lower processes of arithmetic with quickness and certainty, and performs some of the more complex and difficult operations. The arithmetical triangle, invented by Pascal in 1654, is a natural complement to this machine. It gives the coefficients of a binomial raised to any power denoted by an integer, so that it is in part an anticipation of Newton's beautiful theorem. It was applied, also, to the theories of combinations and probabilities, facilitating the calculations in each, and indicating certain results in them not before known.

Pascal was proud of these inventions, and with good reason, considering their fertility and the originality of the ideas on which they rest. He says, that the operation of his machine resembles, far more than the instinct of animals, the workings of the human intellect. In 1650, he sent one of the instruments to Queen Christina of Sweden, with a letter which is a perfect masterpiece of tact and delicacy in complimentary address, and shows that the writer was not more a man of science than an accomplished French gentleman. But the cost of the machine, and its liability to get out of repair, prevented it from coming into extensive use; and the invention of logarithms renders all contrivances of this class in a great degree unnecessary. In speaking of the mechanical skill of Pascal, his biographers uniformly attribute to him the invention of the wheel sedan-chair and the truck, though it is difficult to believe that these simple instruments were not in use long before his time. He probably made some marked improvements in the common mode of constructing them. The intense and continued exercise of his mind, during two years, upon his arithmetical contrivance proved a permanent injury to his physical constitution,

which was naturally frail and sensitive ; and ever after this period he suffered under the complication of maladies which finally caused his death.

It would be tedious to dwell upon the history of Pascal's discoveries in mathematical science. They were conspicuous and important enough to attract the attention and envy of Descartes, who seemed to arrogate to himself at this period the whole province of pure mathematics as his particular domain. The researches upon the theory of the cycloid have been already mentioned ; inferior as they are to the results since obtained so easily by the use of the infinitesimal calculus, they must be regarded as almost miraculous achievements of the geometry of Pascal's time. The calculation of chances, various problems in which are so complex and far-reaching as to tax the utmost resources of the improved science of our own day, owes its earliest development, and the establishment of some of its most important principles, to the genius of this youthful mathematician. Huygens, to whom the praise of originating the true theory of games of chance is sometimes awarded, frankly avows, in the preface to his work on this subject, that the invention does not belong to him, as "all these questions have already been discussed by the greatest geometers of France." In truth, the work of Huygens appeared in 1657, while the solutions of Pascal were well known in 1654, when he was but thirty-one years of age. The subject was proposed to him by a celebrated gamester, who wished to know in what proportions the stake should be divided between two players, if they agreed to separate without finishing the game. Pascal solved the problem in its most general form, so as to divide the sum equitably among any number of players who might be engaged. Roberval and Fermat, two of the most distinguished mathematicians in France, attempted to answer these questions at the same time ; the former failed entirely ; the latter succeeded by applying the theory of combinations. Pascal, who had solved the problem by another method, believed at first that the solution by Fermat was not correct, although the result agreed with his own ; but on further examination he retracted this opinion, and acknowledged that the process was equally accurate and elegant.

Passing over Pascal's other mathematical labors, though many of them are of considerable note, we come to his con-

tributions to physical science, which afford still more remarkable proofs of the premature vigor of his intellect. His celebrated experiments upon the weight of the atmosphere put the seal of demonstration upon one of the greatest discoveries of modern times. Torricelli suspected that the ascent of water in a common pump, which had hitherto been attributed to nature's repugnance to a vacuum, was really due to the weight of a column of air, which balanced the column of fluid. The workmen of the Duke of Florence had informed him, that the pump would not act for a height of more than thirty-three feet. If the weight of the atmosphere, then, would support a column of water thirty-three feet high, it would balance a much heavier fluid only at a much lower elevation. Torricelli took a glass tube about three feet long, sealed at one end, and having filled it with quicksilver, he plunged the open end into a cup full of the same fluid, and found that the mercury in the tube, after some oscillations, remained at the height of about thirty inches above the surface of the mercury in the cup. Mercury is about thirteen times heavier than water, and thirty inches is about the thirteenth part of thirty-three feet. In other words, the power which supported the two fluids, whatever it might be, was constant in respect to weight, since the elevation of the two fluids was inversely proportional to their weight. Torricelli believed, that this power was the pressure of the air, or that a column of air as high as the earth's atmosphere was as heavy as thirty inches of mercury, or as thirty-three feet of water. But he could not prove this; his supposition, it is true, explained the facts; but it did not exclude other hypotheses which might be framed to account for the same phenomena. The question remained open, then, till, in the language of Bacon, an *experimentum crucis* could be devised, which should eliminate the false theories, and show that the weight of the atmosphere was *the only possible* cause of the phenomenon. This experiment was at last devised and executed by Pascal, who thereby put the question for ever at rest.

The experiment of Torricelli, which was, in truth, the invention of the barometer, was made in 1645. Its result had been predicted by Descartes; but the explanation offered by both these philosophers had at first but small success among the learned. The doctrine of the repugnance

of nature to a vacuum had been too long established to give way readily to a truth which was not as yet demonstrated. The supposition was gravely made, that some *subtile matter*, or *ether*, evaporated from the surface of the water or the mercury, and filled the apparent void in the top of the tube. Pascal at once adopted the views of Torricelli and Descartes, and repeated the experiments of the former in 1646, with some variations, which still further discredited the old doctrine. He used tubes of great length, and thus proved that nature did not dread a great vacuum any more than a small one. He employed a tube bent in the form of the letter U, and having invented an apparatus for admitting at intervals small quantities of air into the top of one of the branches, he found that the mercury descended there just as fast as the air was admitted, while it remained stationary in the other branch. The results of these experiments, and the arguments founded upon them, he published in 1647, in a little book, entitled "New Experiments respecting a Vacuum." Noel, a Jesuit, who was then rector of the College of Paris, published a severe criticism upon this work, and Pascal replied in a sarcastic and argumentative way, showing the power in controversy which was afterwards more fully developed in the "Provincial Letters."

But Pascal saw with pain, that not one of the tests or arguments hitherto employed was absolutely decisive of the point at issue. After long and painful reflection upon the subject, he at last matured the idea of an experiment, which would leave no room for cavil, and would establish the true doctrine irrevocably. If the air be a weighty fluid, each horizontal stratum of it must be pressed by the accumulated weight of all the superincumbent strata, and the pressure must therefore diminish as we rise above the surface of the earth. Now, if it be the pressure of the air which sustains the column of fluid, let the instrument be carried to a considerable height in the atmosphere, and the mercury must fall to a lower point in the tube. In order that the difference in the height of the mercury might be very perceptible, and leave no pretext to doubt its reality, it was necessary to raise the tube very high in the air. The mountain called the Puy-de-Dôme, which is in the neighbourhood of Clermont, and is about three thousand feet high, offered a suitable means for accomplishing this object. On the 15th of

November, 1647, Pascal communicated his project to his brother-in-law, M. Perier, who was about to visit Clermont, and charged him to make the trial as soon as he arrived there. Various circumstances delayed the execution of the plan ; but it was tried at last, with all possible exactness, on the 19th of September, 1648, and all the phenomena were observed which Pascal had predicted. The mercury began to descend in the tube as they climbed the mountain's side, and on the summit it was more than three inches lower than it had been at the base. As they descended, the column rose again, till they reached the plain, where it had the same elevation as at first. In another tube, which had been observed meanwhile on the plain, no alteration had taken place. Pascal made similar experiments at Paris, by means of the very lofty tower of St. Jacques-la-Boucherie, and obtained corresponding results.

Herschel, quoted with approbation by Mr. Hallam, calls this famous experiment "a *crucial instance*, one of the first, if not the very first, on record in physics." Indeed, the whole history of Pascal's investigations respecting the pressure of the atmosphere is such a striking and beautiful illustration of the Baconian system, that we must believe he had studied the "*Novum Organum*," an edition of which was printed in Holland in 1645, just a year before Pascal began his work. His final success appears the more remarkable, when we consider that he was not yet twenty-five years old. Descartes, with his usual selfishness and arrogance, claimed the merit of this experiment for himself, by affirming, in a letter written in 1649, that he had suggested it to Pascal two years before. This assertion was communicated to the latter, who disdained to take any direct notice of it ; but in a historical account of the matter, which he wrote in 1651, he says, without mentioning Descartes, "I boldly declare that this experiment is of my own invention ; and I say, moreover, that the increase of knowledge which it has occasioned is due entirely to me." If we reflect on the severe integrity of Pascal's conduct, the rigid conscientiousness which pervaded his character, and the frank and manly way in which he acknowledges the merit due to others, evinced particularly by his language respecting Torricelli, it seems impossible to discredit this distinct assertion. "The question is one of those," says Playfair, "where a man's conduct in a

particular case can only be rightly interpreted from his general character and behaviour." It is notorious, that Descartes was far from being frank and candid in his intercourse with others. He contrives to give a history of the origin of the telescope without mentioning Galileo ; he says nothing of the discoveries of Kepler, though so nearly connected with his own ; and his conduct towards Snellius subjects his integrity to the heaviest imputations. "The truth is," says Playfair, "that he appears throughout a jealous and suspicious man, always inclined to depress or conceal the merit of others." Surely, when a question of veracity arises between two such persons as Pascal and Descartes, we cannot doubt for a moment which is to be believed.

The experiments upon the pressure of the atmosphere naturally led Pascal to some more general inquiries respecting the equilibrium of fluids. He wrote two treatises upon this subject and upon the weight of the air, which were finished in 1653, though they were not published till after his death. They contain the record of some ingenious experiments, and many general views, which were considerably in advance of the science of his time. He remarks, that the air is a compressible and elastic fluid, and cites, as a proof of this, a trial which he had caused to be made on the Puy-de-Dôme, where a balloon partly filled with air at the base, on being carried to the summit, was entirely distended ; it shrunk again as the party descended the mountains, and regained its former volume at the foot. He made some observations, also, on the changes to which the column of mercury is exposed, while kept at the same place, proceeding from the variations of the weather. He did not, indeed, divine all the barometrical uses of this instrument, though he seems to have accomplished more in this way than any one of his contemporaries.

If we except the mathematical inquiry respecting the cycloid, which was taken up rather as a diversion during his last illness, it may be said, that Pascal's scientific labors terminated when he had attained the age of thirty. It is not surprising, then, that their results should hardly appear so numerous and brilliant as those obtained by one or two of his illustrious contemporaries in an age which was the most remarkable, perhaps, for the progress of science and the development of the human mind, of any in the

history of the world. But as indications of what he might have done in a longer period, or under more favorable circumstances, — as evidence of the vast power and fertility of his youthful intellect, they will never cease to command the wonder and admiration of mankind. If his life had been protracted to the ordinary limit, if suffering and disease had not perpetually discouraged him, if his ambition had been greater, or if it had not been so early checked and turned into a different channel, we can hardly doubt that he would have stood among the foremost of the great promoters of science in modern times.

The father of Pascal died in 1651 ; and two years afterwards, his sister Jacqueline, to whom he was tenderly attached, retired for ever from the world, by uniting herself to the company of pious recluses at Port Royal. Anxious to show the fervor of her religious faith, and her grateful feelings towards the brother who had first directed her own steps to the path of peace, she sought to win him also from the world, by causing him to renounce his former studies, and to seek only for the things of heaven. Various circumstances aided the execution of this pious scheme. An attack of paralysis, several years before, had nearly deprived him of the use of his legs, and diseases of the nervous system and the stomach had now brought him to the verge of the grave. There was no course left for him but to abandon his engrossing labors, at least for a season, to turn his thoughts to other subjects, and patiently to await either the partial restoration of his health, or a final release from earthly suffering. During the tedious hours of illness, his mind reverted to the religious counsels he had received in his youth. His father had carefully sown in his mind the seeds of piety and Christian faith. These had remained quiet, though not wholly inoperative, during his early manhood, while the whole force of his intellect was directed to scientific pursuits. But they sprang up with a most luxuriant growth, when these pursuits were forcibly interrupted for a time by physical suffering. The objects for which he had hitherto labored so strenuously now lost all value in his eyes. The memory of youthful triumphs was no longer pleasant ; the reputation he had already gained, the hopes of still greater distinction which he had once cherished, were now ranked among the vain joys and aspirations of a world which seemed to be

fading from his sight, as another one of more glorious promise opened to his view from beyond the grave. He resolved to mortify his ambition and love of science, to quench even the natural spark of family affection, to deny himself the ordinary comforts of life, and to devote his whole soul to the contemplation of God and a future life. He became a recluse, an ascetic, an enthusiast ; we will not say a fanatic, for his cruelties were lavished only on himself. The end was not yet ; a few more years remained to him, during which his achievements in defence of persecuted innocence and religious truth were destined to surpass in splendor his early contributions to the cause of human learning.

During the extremity of bodily pain, this change of purpose wrought so powerfully on his mind, that at one time he was probably on the brink of insanity. As he slowly and imperfectly recovered, the intensity of feeling subsided in some degree, but was revived and made permanent by the consequences of an accident. As he was crossing the Pont de Neuilly in a carriage, the horses became restive and unmanageable, and at a point where there was no railing to the bridge, they leaped into the river. Fortunately, the traces broke, and the carriage stopped on the brink ; but the frail system of Pascal received a shock so violent, that he fainted, and was with great difficulty restored to consciousness. The alarm and the jar of the head which were thus caused had a sensible effect on his excited imagination, and he became subject to a kind of false sensation not uncommon in certain forms of mental disease. He saw a frightful precipice yawning continually at his side, and though his reason convinced him that it was unreal, he could not resist the terror which it occasioned. We find indistinct notices of a sort of vision, or ecstasy, which he had soon afterwards, and which was attributed to the same cause. As a memorial of this vision, he preserved for a long time a paper on which were written the day and the hour when it occurred, and some detached pious meditations ; and this paper he constantly carried about with him, as if it were an amulet, concealed within the lining of his dress. It is difficult to say, whether this was an effect of partial insanity, or of some superstitious idea which he had connected with the vision. At any rate, he considered the accident on the bridge as a warning given to him by Heaven to break off all human engagements, and to live in

future for God alone. It is painful to read the minute account given by his sister of the privations and sufferings imposed upon himself by this unhappy enthusiast, during the remainder of his life. Great as these austerities were, they never altered the sweetness of his disposition, nor impaired the astonishing vigor and acuteness of his intellect, whenever he had occasion to use his pen in the cause of truth.

Pascal now became an intimate friend of the most distinguished Port Royalists, and though he never formally united himself to their society, he was accustomed to make them long visits, and was led to espouse their doctrines, and to take an active share in the controversies in which they were then engaged. Among the more eminent of their number, to whom he became particularly attached, — similarity in taste, opinion, and ardor of devotional feeling being the bond of union between them, — were Arnauld, Nicole, De Saci, and Lancelot. Of the remarkable association, of which these men were the brightest ornaments, and which was at once the glory and the shame of France during the seventeenth century, our limits will not permit us to speak at length ; but some notice of it is necessary, in order to make intelligible the history of the bitter controversy it waged with the Jesuits, when the genius of Pascal came to its rescue at the hour of its greatest need, and delayed for many years its destruction by the hands of its powerful and bitter antagonists.

The effects of the Reformation were hardly more conspicuous upon the feelings and conduct of those who separated from the church of Rome, than of those who remained within its pale. Fiercely assaulted from all quarters, the ancient Mother found greater resources in her own bosom than she had ever counted upon in her hour of prosperity. Opposition developed her strength ; shame and rivalry purified her morals and reduced the number of her corruptions ; and the piety of many of her faithful children kindled into a brighter and purer flame, as they looked round for means of defence against the enthusiastic and unrelenting Reformers. The forces thus engendered, created by various causes, and advancing at times in opposite directions, often came in contact with each other, and excited dissensions in her own bosom ; but they all strengthened her hands against the common foe. Having this great advantage over the Reformers, of being all subject to one head, to whom they professed im-

plicit obedience, the Catholics profited by these dissensions, from the increase of zeal and effort which they occasioned ; while the controversy was stayed by the papal power, when it had gone so far as to threaten the internal security of the Church. The able and wary pontiffs, whom the exigency of the times called to the papal chair, as successors to the profligate Alexander and the luxurious Leo, managed these disputes with admirable discretion, though with less regard to consistency and purity of doctrine than to the protection of the common cause against its avowed enemies. They temporized between the opposing parties, delaying as much as possible the absolute decision of the matter, and finally caused that scale to preponderate on which the temporal interests of the Church seemed most intimately to depend. The fanaticism of a Spanish soldier, turned monk, created the order of the Jesuits, the most effective militia ever organized for the purposes of ecclesiastical warfare ; resolute, cunning, and unscrupulous, they sacrificed the cause of Christian faith and morals to the necessities of the combat in which they were engaged. Fervor of devotional feeling, kindled by the exciting religious controversies which then agitated Europe, gave birth, among other sects, to that of the Port Royalists, or Jansenists, of France, composed of persons who still adhered with unflinching fidelity to the see of Rome, though in practice, and in many points of doctrine, they were more nearly allied to some parties among the Reformers. Two associations, animated by principles differing so widely from each other as those of the Jesuits and the Jansenists, could not long coexist in harmony within the same pale. Disputes on points of faith were carried on with bitter recriminations ; and the contest proceeded so far, that the entire destruction of one or the other party at last became inevitable. Rome temporized as usual, but was obliged to act at last ; and the suppression of the monastery of Port Royal, and the persecution of the Jansenists, showed how highly she valued the unscrupulous services of the followers of Loyola.

The controversy, so far as it was exclusively doctrinal, turned on the dark problems of predestination, free will, and saving grace, which have been almost constantly agitated in the Church during its whole history, and are still as far from a satisfactory solution as ever. The pious enthusiasm of the Jansenists, leading them to confess their utter unworthiness

in the sight of God, and their total incapacity to execute the divine commands, caused them to accept in all its severity the gloomy doctrine of St. Augustine. They held, that the grace of God is free and irresistible ; it is conferred upon the elect, not in consideration of their own merits, but by arbitrary appointment ; they cannot obtain it by their own acts, nor resist its effects whenever it is vouchsafed to them. Man is born with so strong an inclination to sin, that, without extraordinary aid from the Deity, he cannot perform a pious act. The human will is absolutely passive ; so that a good action, even after conversion, cannot be ascribed in any proper sense to the human agent, but is due to the operation of the Spirit. It is God that worketh in us, both to will and to do ; and there has been no free will for the creature since Adam's time, except to do evil. It is not denied, that all men may be converted, *if they wish* for conversion ; but they never can wish for it, unless the grace of God is imparted to them for that end.

Appalling as this doctrine seems, when nakedly stated, it had belonged to the faith of the Christian world at least since the time of Augustine. The church of Rome had held it in reverence for the authority of that father ; and the early Reformers, Luther and Calvin especially, state it without reserve, and engage in its defence with the utmost warmth. The former declares, that good and evil are attributable to God alone ; man commits sin from the necessary inclination of his will, which is enslaved to wickedness, being predetermined to it by divine power ; and when he inclines to good, he only follows the irresistible impulse of grace, which pushes him onward like an inanimate body, his own agency having no share whatever in the movement. This is the doctrine, certainly, of men who have made entire submission of their reason to their faith, and as such it was accepted and defended by the Jansenists, and their eloquent champion, Pascal. It is a part of that sacrifice which the penitent convert makes to the cause of religious truth, to humble the pride of his own intellect, and, in all the enthusiasm of self-abasement, to accept propositions as dark as these without question or reserve.

The Jesuits wished to impose no such terrible burden on their converts. Their object was to retain waverers in the Church, and to allure heretics again into its bosom, by im-

posing upon them no austerities of conduct, and no stumbling-blocks of doctrine. Lax and unscrupulous in the use of means, they preached a convenient system of morals, and an easy creed, to their converts. They aimed rather to justify sin than to commend holiness ; for they looked only to the external interests of the Church, which was already sure of the saints, and now stood in need, as they thought, of the services of the sinners. More subtle and ingenious than profound, they contrived intermediate systems wherewith to reconcile their own loose doctrines with the often repeated declarations of the Church and the teachings of the fathers. The treatise of the Spanish Jesuit, Molina, published in 1588, on the agreement between divine grace and human free-will, may be considered as the most general exposition of their belief on this thorny subject. According to this theory, the Deity foreknows not only every event which will actually take place, but also what would have happened under certain conditions, that in fact are never fulfilled. The necessary aid of the Spirit is imparted to those only who would have made good use of the freedom of the will, if they had possessed it. Consequently, men act from necessity ; but also act precisely as they would have done, had they been free. Divine grace is freely imparted to those who do not, indeed, merit it, but whose characters show a certain congruousness or fitness for its reception. This is the celebrated system of the "intermediate science," or the foresight of "contingent futures," as well as of actual events ; and of "congruousness," instead of *merit*, or *arbitrary appointment*, which is made the law of distribution of the divine assistance. It is evidently an ingenious attempt to inculcate the doctrine of Pelagius, without expressly contradicting the words of Augustine. The doctrine of predestination is retained ; but all events, so far as man is concerned, take place exactly as if they were altogether contingent, or dependent only on the free action of the human will. The just are irresistibly inclined to holiness by the action of divine grace ; but if a different appointment of Providence had left them entirely at liberty, they would have followed precisely the same course.

The Dominicans, who were ardent followers of Thomas Aquinas, and therefore held to the doctrines of predestination and efficacious grace without mitigation or reserve, stoutly

opposed this theory of the Jesuits, and very nearly succeeded in procuring its condemnation at Rome. But the intrigues of the latter caused the sentence to be postponed, and, while it was still under deliberation, the death of Clement the Eighth, and the numerous engagements of his successor, Paul the Fifth, caused so much delay, that the controversy passed out of notice and was forgotten. It is probable, that the dispute between these two orders would have gone much further, if the attention of both had not been diverted by their common hostility towards the Port Royalists, which finally caused a hollow peace to be concluded between them. Molinism continued to be taught by the Jesuits, and the Dominicans winked at what they could not approve.

In 1639, Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, died just as he had completed his work called the "*Augustinus*," which had been the labor of his life, and which contained a kind of summary of the doctrines of Augustine respecting predestination and divine grace. It was published the year after his death; and, as it was a heavy and ill-written book, it would probably have attracted little notice, if accident had not rendered it the touchstone of dispute in the memorable controversy between the Port Royalists and the Jesuits. St. Cyran, the leader of the former party, had been the intimate friend of Jansenius, and now strongly recommended his work, as containing the whole secret of the doctrine of predestination. His associates, the pious and learned recluses of Port Royal des Champs, followed in his track, and defended the opinions of the Bishop of Ypres with so much ardor, that they were soon distinguished by the name of Jansenists. The Jesuits were enraged to find their own system of theology falling out of repute, while a dark shade was cast upon the character of their order by the superior reputation of their antagonists for sanctity of life and purity of doctrine. Not daring to controvert openly the opinions of Augustine, they vehemently assailed the work of Jansenius, as containing dangerous and heretical doctrine. Their outcries and artifices would probably have had little effect, if the Jansenists had not unluckily incurred the hatred both of Richelieu and Mazarin; the former imprisoned St. Cyran at Vincennes, and the latter openly countenanced the machinations of the Jesuits. Emboldened by such aid, the Jesuits fulminated the most atrocious calumnies against

the members of the hated sect, and left no stone unturned to effect their utter ruin. But their success depended upon maintaining the charge of heresy ; for they had to do with men whose abilities and reputation were far greater than their own, and who acquired more public esteem from the very persecution under which they were suffering. Such adversaries as Arnauld, Nicole, Saci, and Pascal were more to be dreaded than simple theologians. They were men of philosophical minds and high literary merit. They had acquired zealous and powerful friends throughout the kingdom, and even at the court, by their talents, their virtues, and the signal services which they had rendered to literature and science. But in that age and country, the single charge of heresy was enough to effect their destruction.

In 1649, Father Cornet, Syndic of the Faculty of the Sorbonne, drew up five propositions on the mysteries of divine grace, which he denounced, as opinions drawn from the work of Jansenius by Arnauld and his followers. After a long contest at Rome, Innocent the Tenth finally decided that the propositions were heretical ; and that one of them especially, which declared that Jesus Christ had not died for all men, was false, rash, and scandalous ; and if understood to mean, that the Saviour had died for the elect alone, it was impious and blasphemous. But he said nothing about the question, whether these doctrines were actually contained in the “ Augustinus.” The Jansenists affirmed, that they could not be found there, and though they bowed with perfect submission to the authority of the Holy See, and admitted the five propositions to be heretical in the sense which was attached to them, they refused to condemn the dogma of efficacious grace which is essential for an act of piety, or to reject the authority of St. Augustine, which had always been revered in the Church. They took a distinction between the pope’s right to judge of points of doctrine, and his authority to settle questions of fact ; the former they admitted to the fullest extent, while they boldly denied the latter. Questions of this class, they said, can be determined only by the senses. Pascal always speaks with entire reverence of the authority of the Church, as represented by the supreme pontiff, in matters of faith ; but respecting matters of fact, he holds the following bold language.

“ It was in vain,” he says, addressing the Jesuits, “ that you

obtained a decree from Rome against Galileo, which condemned his opinion respecting the movement of the earth. *That* will never prove that it stands still ; and if there is a series of constant observations to show that it turns on its axis, all the men in the world will never prevent it from turning, nor prevent themselves from turning along with it. Do not imagine, either, that the letters of Pope Zachariah, excommunicating St. Virgilius, because he maintained the existence of the antipodes, have annihilated this new world ; and although he declared this opinion was a dangerous error, the King of Spain did well in believing Christopher Columbus, who had returned from this new world, rather than the opinion of the pope, who had never been there ; and the Church gained a great advantage thereby, as a knowledge of the gospel was thus imparted to many nations, who would otherwise have perished in their sins." — *Lettres Provinciales*, pp. 348, 349.

All the theologians in France were now in arms upon the apparently simple question, whether the five propositions, admitted on all hands to be heretical, were really contained in the work of Jansenius, or not. Arnauld and his followers confidently asked to have them pointed out ; the Jesuits accumulated all sorts of authorities, except the book itself, to prove that they were contained in it. The truth was, every body knew that the substance, but not the identical words, of the five propositions were to be found in the book ; but the Jesuits dared not cite the passages confirmatory of this view, for then their opponents would have obtained an easy triumph, by showing that Jansenius had used Augustine's own words, and Rome was by no means prepared to repudiate the high authority of that father, "the doctor of grace." The Jesuits charged their antagonists with upholding Calvinism, and were themselves accused, in turn, of favoring Pelagianism. It was a pitiable thing, as D'Alembert says, to see the time and talents of the ablest men in the kingdom wasted on fantastic and interminable discussions about free will and divine grace, and on the important question, whether five unintelligible propositions were contained in a stupid book which nobody ever thought of reading. Persecuted, imprisoned, exiled on account of these vain disputes, and continually occupied in defending such a futile cause, how many years in their lives have philosophy and letters to mourn over as utterly wasted !

Among those who combated for Jansenius, no one so

much distinguished himself for zeal and vehemence as Arnauld. Inflexible, ardent, and indefatigable, he had all the qualities requisite for being the successful leader of a sect. In 1655, a priest of St. Sulpice refused absolution to the Duke de Liancourt, because he was a friend of the Port Royalists, and allowed his grandchild to be a pupil in their seminary. Arnauld took fire at this insult, and published two very severe letters, commenting on the bigotry and injustice evinced by this act. Among other offensive things, he said he had read the work of Jansenius, and could not find the heretical propositions in it; and that the gospel "offers us, in the case of St. Peter, the example of a just man, to whom the divine grace, without which nothing can be effected, was wanting, on an occasion when no one can say that he did not sin." For publishing these assertions, he was immediately arraigned before the Sorbonne as a contumacious heretic. The discussion excited great interest, for it was regarded as a decisive trial of strength between the two parties. The hall of the Sorbonne was crowded, as the Jesuits and their opponents mustered all their forces for the encounter; and the former, especially, brought in so many mendicant monks, as to give occasion for a sarcastic remark by Pascal, that it was more easy for them to find monks than arguments. The condemnation of Arnauld was inevitable; for the Jesuits had strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Dominicans and other orders, wrecks of the Middle Ages, whom a secret instinct brought together as opponents of the new order of things. The minority was composed in great part of the secular clergy. Sentence was passed in January, 1656, when the two assertions cited above were not only condemned as heretical, but Arnauld himself was forever excluded from his seat in the faculty of theology.

The triumph of the Jesuits seemed complete; but their joy was at once checked and turned into dismay by the sudden appearance in the opposite ranks of a new champion, far more formidable than any whom they had hitherto encountered. Just before sentence was passed, appeared the first of Pascal's "Provincial Letters," as they are usually called, though the more proper title is, "Letters written by Louis de Montalte to one of his Friends in the Country." The others, eighteen in number, were published successively, at intervals of several weeks' duration, for more than a

year and a half. Never was more seasonable and effectual aid brought to the rescue of a sinking cause. These masterpieces of style and argument, of wit and eloquence, did more to ruin the name and the cause of the Jesuits, than all the discussions that had been urged in the schools of theology, and all the enemies they had provoked among the reigning powers of Europe. Eminently popular and intelligible in style, abounding with the happiest flashes of pleasantry and fancy, passing with ease and grace from the keenest ridicule to the loftiest invective, they were read and almost committed to memory by all classes of men, while the heavy and abusive answers to them passed unnoticed, and were soon forgotten. They provoked the unwilling praise even of Voltaire, who said that the earlier letters had more wit than the best comedies of Molière, and the later ones more sublimity than the finest compositions of Bossuet. The same excellent judge attributes to them the fixation of the French language, and says, that, after the lapse of more than a century, not a word or phrase employed in them had become obsolete. The clearness and precision with which the points at issue are explained, and the tone of severe morality and fervent piety which pervades these admirable letters, made them as persuasive and convincing as they were delightful. The Jesuits found themselves exposed to the ridicule and indignation of all Europe, in a publication destined to be as lasting and as widely diffused as the language in which it was written. They had no writers among their number capable of averting or returning this terrible blow ; for it was aptly said of them, that at all times " their penknives were more to be dreaded than their pens." The Jesuit Annat remarked, that, for an answer to the first fifteen letters, he had only to repeat fifteen times over, that the writer of them was a Jansenist.

In the first three letters, Pascal examines the points of dispute, which were involved in the trial of Arnould. He exposes with great wit and severity the fraudulent alliance between the Jesuits and the Dominicans against the Jansenists, in which the two contracting parties covered up their fundamental differences of opinion by an abuse of language, using phrases which either had no meaning at all, or involved the grossest contradictions. The Dominicans had always maintained the doctrine of " efficacious grace " necessary for any good action, and that human liberty does not consist in

indifference, but is compatible with a certain kind of necessity which springs from the irresistible power of divine grace. The Jesuits, who were followers of Molina, denied both these dogmas, and affirmed the existence of "sufficient grace," and "immediate power" to do good or to abstain from it, without any extraneous aid. Their allies employed the same phrases, but attached a different meaning to them, understanding thereby, that the powers spoken of were of no effect without the additional aid of the Spirit. They covenanted to use these technicalities without any reference to the sense which the Molinists attached to them, on condition that the Jesuits would not oblige them to explain their whole meaning, and would continue to declare that the doctrine of the Thomists was orthodox. Here was fine scope for the sarcastic commentary of Pascal on the dogma of "sufficient grace," which did not suffice for the performance of any pious act, and of "immediate power," which was of no avail except by the special assistance of the Deity. The irony with which he exposes these gross tergiversations is keen but tempered, and flashes out into eloquent indignation only at the close, when he comes to speak of the great purpose of this unholy compact, which was to effect the condemnation of the Jansenists.

By adopting the epistolary form of composition, which admits great freedom of transition and colloquial piquancy of style, and by throwing most of the argument into the garb of dialogue, Pascal contrived to render even this abstruse and perplexed controversy intelligible and pleasant to all classes of readers. He had less difficulty with the remainder of his task, which was to expose the false morality of the Jesuit casuists. From writers of established reputation among them, such as Escobar, Busenbaum, Bauny, and others, he has accumulated a long list of scandalous decisions, and has dwelt upon them with so much wit and severity, that he has rendered the very name of Jesuitism a synonyme for chicane, deception, and falsehood. It is a curious corroboration of this fact, that the popularity of his Letters in France introduced the word *escobardeur*, meaning "to prevaricate, or shuffle," into common use in the language. Pascal is often accused, though without reason, of treating the Jesuits unfairly, by holding the whole society responsible for the unauthorized doctrines of individual mem-

bers. He cites those works only which were of high repute among them, which were adopted by them as guides in the confessional chair, and had passed through many editions. Escobar's treatise on Moral Theology, which Pascal quotes most frequently, went through forty editions, and more than fifty editions were published of the casuistical writings of Bunsenbaum. The Jesuits, also, were too proud and resolute, too firmly attached to each other and to the reputation of the society as a whole, to censure or repudiate works which they had once sanctioned. They yielded nothing, they disavowed nothing, but perished in the attempt to defend all. They accused their assailant of making unfair quotations, but did not deny that the writers whom he cited were authoritative. *Pascal replied, that he had read Escobar twice through, and had not cited a passage from the other authors, without seeing it in the book, and carefully examining the context.*

In truth, the ethical doctrines which he reprobates were interwoven with the fundamental principles of the society, and were a necessary consequence of the position which the Jesuits had assumed, and the mission which they had undertaken to accomplish. Their society was the last great instrument of the old papal dominion. It came into the world too late for its work ; for the great schism had taken place, and no array of forces, however well disciplined, could prevent the fatal consequences of such a rent in the Church. They undertook to reverse the declaration of the Saviour, that the children of this world are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light. They borrowed the weapons of the devil to serve heaven with, and aimed to subjugate the world by conforming themselves to its spirit. When they could not face the nobler instincts of humanity, they made skilful and unhesitating use of all the baser appetites and passions, and became the ready tools and apologists of those who wished to compromise between conscience and convenience. They preached a mitigated doctrine of religion and morals, and thereby made themselves acceptable at court, and gained the private ear of the monarchs, of whom they were the favorite confessors. The Jesuits Annat, Le Tellier, and La Chaise governed France by granting absolution on easy terms to the sins of Louis the Fourteenth ; the gratitude of the king being proportioned to the number of his offences, and to the indulgence with which they were consid-

ered. Their precepts formed the monstrous anomaly of his religious character, — a compound of bigoted devotion and moral turpitude. The Jesuits were too cunning to profit in their own persons by the laxity of the principles which they preached to others. Strange as it may seem, they were often irreproachable, and even austere, in their private conduct. This contradiction occasioned the sarcastic remark, that they purchased heaven very dearly for themselves, but sold it at a very cheap bargain to their converts.

Acute and subtile in reasoning, they reduced their false morality to a system, and framed consistent rules for their own guidance in the practices of confession and absolution. They defined sin to be a wilful violation of the law of God, and measured its enormity by the penitent's consciousness of its true character, and by his free consent to its commission. Strong temptation and temporary forgetfulness of the divine command palliated the offence, by hiding its sinful nature from the view of the transgressor. Since hardly any one loves sin *as such*, or for its own sake, a sufficient mantle is hereby provided to cover the greatest enormities. Habit, or even bad example, which increases the force of temptation, partially excuses the act ; that which is not wantonly or gratuitously committed is not to be severely judged. Other grounds of pardon were also recognized. One of the most abominable of these is the doctrine of mental reservations, which allows one to make a promise coupled with a secret condition in his own mind, which he knows is not understood by the person to whom the promise is given. A man may say what is true in the meaning that he attaches to it, though he is aware that it will be interpreted in a different sense. Even perjury is allowable, if one only swears outwardly, without inwardly intending what he professes. Duelling is forbidden ; but if a person is in danger of losing an office, or forfeiting the good opinion of his ruler, by refusing to engage in a duel, he is not to be condemned for fighting ; for then he does not wish to violate the law, but only to preserve his honor or his station.

The doctrine of probability is another striking example of perverted casuistry. In doubtful cases, an individual might disregard the scruples of his own conscience, and follow the authority of a single writer, if one could be found, who maintained that the desired course of conduct was not unlawful.

When there is a conflict of authorities, the opinion upheld by any one of them must be deemed probable, and we are at liberty to select the most indulgent teacher. Moreover, transgression is no longer heinous, if the intention be directed only to the innocent qualities of the act, while its sinful characteristics are put aside and forgotten. In this way, a slight turn of the thoughts was held to exonerate from guilt. Thus, simony is forbidden; but if a person gives money for a benefice, not in order to bribe the bestower, but to gain a means of more effectually serving the Church of God, he is blameless. A man may kill another who gives him a blow, or even publishes a libel against him, provided he does not act from the spirit of hatred or vengeance, but only with a view to retrieve his injured honor.

These were the detestable maxims of Jesuitical casuistry, maxims deliberately recommended in their books and taught from the confessional chair, which Pascal so happily exposed. By holding them up to public reprobation and contempt, he rendered no less signal service to morality and religion than to the almost desperate fortunes of the Port Royalists. But even the publication of the "Provincial Letters," though it covered the assailants with shame, would not, probably, have sufficed for the protection of the assailed, if a supposed miracle, perhaps the best accredited of its class in modern times, had not taken place, and created a popular belief, of which the Jansenists instantly availed themselves, that Heaven itself was interposing in behalf of the persecuted sect.

Pascal's niece, a girl about eleven years of age, the daughter of Madame Perier, resided as a pupil in the Port Royal nunnery. The poor child had been afflicted for more than three years with a *fistula lacrymalis* in the corner of the left eye. It had affected the bones of the nose and palate, and frightfully disfigured her externally, one side of her face being entirely ulcerated. After the ablest physicians and surgeons of Paris had exhausted their skill upon the case without effect, they determined to make trial of the actual cautery, and the day for this painful operation was fixed. Meanwhile, a collector of relics in the city, named M. de la Potterie, pretended to have gained possession of one of the thorns which had composed the crown that the soldiers platted and put upon our Saviour's head. As Voltaire remarks, by what means such an extraordinary relic was preserved and

transported from Jerusalem to the Faubourg St. Jacques we are not informed. But the populace believed in the Holy Thorn, and the members of the several religious communities vied with each other in their eagerness to have it exhibited at their respective establishments. Among others, the Port Royal nuns requested to see it, and it was carried to them on the 24th of March, 1656. It was placed on a little altar within the grate of the choir, and a procession of the pupils and nuns marched by, singing appropriate hymns, and each in her turn kissing the holy relic. One of the instructors stood near, and could not help shuddering as she saw the disfigured little girl approach. "Recommend yourself to God, my child," she exclaimed, "and touch your diseased eye with the Holy Thorn." The command was obeyed, and the girl instantly felt the assurance, as she afterwards declared, that she was healed. She told one of her young companions of the fact that night, and the next day it was made known to the nuns, who examined the eye, and found the cure was complete. There was no tumor, no exudation of matter, not even a scar.

Three or four days afterwards, Dalencé, one of the surgeons who were engaged to apply the hot iron, came to the house, and asked to see the patient. She was brought to him, but he did not recognize her, and said again that he wished to see the girl whose eye and cheek were ulcerated. "She now stands before you," was the reply. Amazed at such an announcement, he examined the little girl with great care, and could not find any trace of the disease. He then sent for his two associates, who repeated the examination, and declared that the patient was entirely cured. The report of this miracle created great sensation in Paris. Crowds flocked to Port Royal, to behold and admire the Holy Thorn. The queen mother deputed M. Felix, first surgeon of the king, who enjoyed a high reputation for probity and skill, to inquire into the truth of the story. He questioned the nuns and the surgeons, drew up an account of the origin, progress, and end of the disease, attentively examined the girl, and at last declared, in a paper attested by his signature, that neither nature nor art had had any share in the cure, but that it was attributable to God alone. The cry was now universal, that divine power had interposed in behalf of the Jansenists, and their enemies were covered with confusion and dismay.

The severe measures that had been instituted against the Port Royal society were instantly relaxed. The nuns were again allowed to receive their pupils, the illustrious recluses returned to the spot consecrated by their studies and devotions, and even Arnauld came forth from his hiding-place, and gave God thanks. Mademoiselle Perier lived seventy-five years after this event, without any return of the malady. She was still alive when the poet Racine drew up his narrative of the affair, from which we have taken this account.

The generation which has given credit to the wonders of animal magnetism has no right to laugh at the miracle of the Holy Thorn. Putting aside the inference respecting supernatural agency, the fact itself, attested by such men as Felix, Arnauld, Racine, and Pascal, who had full opportunity to satisfy themselves of the truth of the statement, cannot be lightly questioned. An almost desperate malady was suddenly cured under the circumstances related. Is it reasonable to suppose, that this event was produced by the special interposition of the Deity in behalf of the Jansenists? Thinking and judicious persons at the present day will answer this question, without hesitation, in the negative. They will admit the mysterious character of disease, and the remarkable results often produced by the working of occult natural causes, like the wonderful operations of sympathy, and the curative effects of a lively imagination and strong emotions. But rather than admit the interference of supernatural causes, they will accept the commentary of Voltaire, apart from the diabolical sneer with which it is uttered. "It is not very likely," says the old scoffer, "that God, who makes no miracles to impart a knowledge of our religion to nineteen twentieths of mankind, to whom this religion is either unknown or an object of horror, did actually interrupt the order of nature for a little girl, in order to justify a few nuns, who pretended that Cornelius Jansen did not write about a dozen lines which were attributed to him, or that he wrote them with a different intention from that imputed to him by the Jesuits."

Neither the publication of the "Provincial Letters," nor the miracle of the Holy Thorn, sufficed to avert for a long period the persecution and final ruin of the sect of the Jansenists. But the respite thus procured lasted till the death of Pascal, who was thus spared the bitter anguish of behold-

ing the defeat and dispersion of his beloved associates. His physical sufferings now became extreme, and, in 1658, they were increased by a long-continued toothache, which almost entirely deprived him of sleep. During the restless hours of the night, thus passed in an agony of pain, his mind reverted to his former mathematical pursuits, and, as a mere diversion, he meditated and solved his famous problems relative to the cycloid. He proposed to find the measure and centre of gravity of any segment whatever of the curve, and the dimensions and centres of gravity of the solids which such a segment forms by revolving round the abscissa or the ordinate. A reward was publicly offered to any geometer who should be able to solve these problems, and the most distinguished mathematicians then in Paris were appointed as judges for the trial. The task proposed was one of no ordinary difficulty; for Leibnitz and Newton had not yet appeared to develop the marvellous powers of the infinitesimal calculus, which now enables the tyro in science to answer more intricate questions than these with ease and precision. But two attempts were made to gain the prize; one by the Jesuit Lallouère, and the other by Wallis, the English mathematician. Both were judged to be unsatisfactory, and Pascal, who had hitherto kept himself concealed under the signature of Amos Dettonville, an anagram of Louis de Montalte, the name affixed to the "Provincial Letters," then published his own solutions, which commanded the applause of all the scientific world. A controversy ensued with the disappointed competitors; but the opinion of those who were competent to decide such questions was so decisive in favor of Pascal, that it is not necessary to review the grounds of the dispute.

The mind of the religious enthusiast could not long be diverted by such labors from the more solemn topics which had now for years engrossed his attention. His devotional exercises became more and more absorbing, and the practices of penitence and self-denial, to which he submitted, were rapidly consuming his enfeebled powers of life. Devoting nearly his whole income to the service of the poor, he deprived himself of every luxury, and of most of the comforts of ordinary existence. In a small chamber, from which he had caused even the tapestry to be removed, lest it should gratify his eye, and where he would not allow himself

the services of a single domestic, so long as his strength sufficed for making his own bed, he passed most of his time in prayer and the study of the Scriptures. To this cheerless and unfurnished apartment men distinguished in every walk of science and letters frequently resorted, to profit by the conversation of the greatest genius of his country, and perhaps of his age. He talked with vivacity and wit, as might be expected from the author of the "Provincial Letters," and displayed without effort or reserve the stores of his information and the vast range of his intellect. Human nature is weak, and he could not but be gratified and flattered to find his conversation so acceptable to others, and to observe the superiority of his spirit to theirs. But this pleasure was a weakness, it was even a sin, in the eyes of the pious devotee. It was to be mortified, with the other enticements of the flesh, and to be kept in subjection to the love of God and the hope of heaven. He wore a girdle, with sharp points on the inside, next to his flesh, and when he felt any movement of vanity or extraordinary pleasure in conversation, he pressed the iron torture more closely to his side, that physical pain might remind him of his frailty and his duty. Piteable and perverted, indeed, though fervent and pure in him, was the religious faith which led to the infliction of such gratuitous suffering.

In strict conformity to his principle, that it was necessary to renounce all the pleasures of this world, he tried to stifle even the ordinary impulses of natural affection, and to preserve a cold and rigid exterior to his nearest friends, even when his heart was overflowing with kindness and love. He would not permit the caresses of his sister's children, saying that it was the indulgence of a sinful love; but he showed his real tenderness for them by many substantial proofs. Madame Perier once complained to her sister, that their brother spoke coldly to her, and even seemed to be annoyed when she was rendering to him the most affectionate services in his illness. Jacqueline, who shared his religious fervor, understood his motives better, and explained them. "And in truth," says the elder sister, "when there was occasion for my brother's assistance, he showed so much eagerness to embrace it, and so many proofs of affection, that I had no longer any reason to doubt that he loved me." His kindness was not confined to those with whom he was connected by

natural ties ; on the sick and destitute stranger his bounty was lavished with all the heroism of benevolence. During his last illness, he had given a lodging in his house to a poor man and his son, from whom he received no return but gratitude. The son was attacked with the small-pox, and could not be carried to another habitation without danger. Pascal's feeble condition required the constant care of his sister, and as her children had not had this disease, he desired to save them from the risk of receiving the infection through their mother's attendance upon himself. Under these circumstances, weak and suffering as he was, he gave up his own home to the sick boy, and went to reside at the house of his sister.

Except his elder sister, Madame Perier, he was now alone in the world. His father had died in 1651, and the loss had made a deep impression upon him ; for the similarity of their characters and pursuits had drawn them together in a closer and more affectionate intimacy than that which usually exists between parent and child. A letter which he wrote on this occasion is preserved among his works, and shows a spirit of the most exalted piety, without a trace of cant or affected feeling. Ten years afterwards, he lost Jacqueline also, the infant actress, whose graceful pleading had redeemed their father from exile, and whose later years had been entirely consecrated to God's service in the nunnery at Port Royal. She had become sub-prioress in this institution, and her death was hastened by perplexity and grief, after the machinations of the Jesuits had at length caused the inexorable decree to go forth, that all the Jansenist nuns should subscribe the formulary, which contained an explicit renunciation of the opinions they had so long cherished. Strange effect, that a perverted faith and ecclesiastical persecution should cause a woman to die of grief, because required to sign a declaration, that the five propositions in their heretical sense were actually written in the book of Jansenius ! The historian of the Port Royalists records the remark which she made on her death-bed, that she was "the first victim of the formulary." Pascal was tenderly attached to her, and when informed of her death, exclaimed with a sigh, "God grant that my end may be like hers !"

His own life was now rapidly drawing to a close, though one work still remained for him to accomplish. It was meet that a spirit touched to so fine issues should not leave the

world without bequeathing to it a more valuable and befitting memorial of united genius and piety than was contained in the letters respecting the controversy with the Jesuits. For three years before his death, the progress of his disease, and the paroxysms of pain that he endured, left only infrequent and short intervals during which his mind was capable of effort ; but these he zealously employed in making preparations for a great work on the philosophy of human nature and the proofs of the Christian religion. On these subjects he wrote down detached thoughts, as they occurred to him, upon loose scraps of paper ; and when he was incapable of holding the pen for himself, a faithful domestic sat by his bedside, and wrote from his dictation. In this way there was accumulated a mass of unconnected hints and aphorisms, which he was not allowed to arrange and complete.

In the summer of 1662, another painful disease was added to those which had already undermined his constitution and brought him to the brink of the grave. When this malady was at its height, frequently depriving him of consciousness, he was removed to his sister's house for the reason already mentioned. There he tranquilly occupied himself in preparing for death. He made his will, leaving large sums to the poor ; and would have bequeathed to them his whole property, if the condition of his sister's children, who were not rich, had not required his aid. As he could not do more for the sick and the destitute, he wished at least to die among them, and he eagerly desired his friends to carry him to the Hospital for the Incurables. They could dissuade him from executing this intention only by promising, that, if he recovered, he should be free to devote his whole life and property to the service of the poor. In the beginning of August, as his end was obviously nigh at hand, he called with great earnestness for the last services of the Church. This request was at length granted, after a fainting-fit had occurred, which lasted so long that his friends believed he was dead. But he recovered sufficiently to raise himself on the couch, and receive the sacrament with marks of resignation and deep feeling, which drew tears from all the beholders. A moment afterwards, he fell into convulsions, which closed the scene. He died on the 29th of August, 1662, aged thirty-nine years. In the church of St. Etienne du Mont, at Paris, a marble tablet on one of the pillars near the great altar, with a simple in-

scription, informs the reader that he is standing upon the tomb of Pascal.

"Such," says his able biographer, Bossut, "was this extraordinary man, who was endowed by nature with all the gifts of the understanding; a geometer of the first rank, a profound logician, a lofty and eloquent writer. If we remember, that, in the course of a very short life, and while suffering under almost constant attacks of disease, he invented the arithmetical machine, the principles of the calculation of chances, and the method of solving the problems respecting the cycloid; that he finally determined the great question, which was dividing the opinions of the scientific world, concerning the pressure of the atmosphere; that he was the first to establish by mathematical proofs the general laws of the equilibrium of fluids; that he wrote one of the most perfect works which ever appeared in the French language; that in his "*Thoughts*" there are passages of unrivalled eloquence and depth of reflection,—we shall be ready to believe, that a greater genius never existed in any country or in any age."

The loose hints and unconnected fragments, which he had prepared for his great work on the proofs of the Christian religion, were first collected and published in 1670, under the title of "*Thoughts of M. Pascal upon Religion and some other Topics.*" They were left at his death in a state of utter confusion, and in the first edition many of them were suppressed, and the others were printed in a very defective arrangement, so that portions of the work appeared very obscure. Bossut superintended a complete edition of them in 1779, having diligently examined the original manuscripts, and perfected the classification which was commenced by Condorcet. A few years before, Voltaire had published an edition, with notes such as might be expected from one of his character and principles. He hated Pascal's creed, and called him "a sublime misanthrope"; but according to his own confession, he had studied the "*Provincial Letters*" and the "*Thoughts*," till he almost knew them by heart. We read them now as general aphorisms, which apparently have little immediate connection with each other, though the leading purpose of the writer is sufficiently obvious, and they all seem to converge towards the great questions respecting human nature and destiny. The fine discernment of the writer, the scientific exactness and condensation of the style, are the more apparent from the broken and fragmentary condition of the "*Thoughts.*" There is a want of roundness and flow in the

composition, but it is admirable for terseness and epigrammatic point. Sometimes he is hurried away by the love of antithesis, and the expression is often so elliptical as to be obscure. But the original and striking character of the reflections, the keen analysis of motives, the vivacity and energy of the style, the rapid and forcible progress of the arguments, and the singular richness and novelty of the illustrations, command the reader's attention through all these disadvantages. A more impressive and eloquent work does not exist in the language.

The "Thoughts" are deeply tinged with the despondency of the writer's mind, and with the peculiarities of his religious opinions. He seems to triumph in exposing the weakness and imperfection of human nature, and the vanity of human pursuits. The corruption of the heart and the weakness of the intellect are the themes on which he most willingly expatiates, using at times bitter sarcasm and the loftiest invective. "His melancholy genius," says Hallam, "plays in wild and rapid flashes, like the lightning round the scathed oak, about the fallen greatness of man." But it is not with the mocking spirit of a satirist that he dilates upon the fallen and wretched condition of our race. In his eyes, man is weak and degraded, but not contemptible; his view is fixed as much upon the heights from which he has fallen, as upon the abyss into which he is plunged. His magnificent lamentations are uttered in the spirit of Jeremiah weeping over the sins of his nation, and pointing out the ruin with which it is menaced. He seeks to humble only that he may exalt, to point out the frailty and wretchedness of man's condition in this world, only that his attention may be diverted from it, and fixed upon the unutterable splendors of the life to come. "Man is so great," he says, "that his grandeur appears from the knowledge he has of his own misery. A tree knows not that it is wretched. True, it is sad to know that we are miserable; but it is also a mark of greatness to be aware of this misery. Thus all the wretchedness of man proves his nobleness. It is the unhappiness of a great lord, the misery of a dethroned king." The misery of our present condition is aggravated by the consciousness that we have fallen from a state of innocence and peace. Like the poet, Pascal finds that there is no greater grief than the recollection of happiness formerly enjoyed. "Who, but a discrowned monarch," he asks, "is

grieved that he does not possess a throne? Who thinks himself unhappy, because he has but one mouth? And who is not unhappy, if he has but one eye? No one ever thought of sorrowing, because he has not three eyes; but he is inconsolable, if he has but one."

The chief purpose of the work is to show man's need of religion, in order both to explain the enigma of his present state, and to console him in the midst of privation and suffering. The argument is not addressed to the understanding, but to the feelings; and its aim is rather to persuade than to convince. "The heart has its reasons," he says, "which the intellect knoweth not of; we perceive this truth in a thousand things. It is the heart, and not the reason, which finds out God; and this is perfect faith, God made known to the heart." Metaphysical proofs of a God, he continues, are so far removed from the ordinary sphere of human reason, and so abstruse, that they make little impression; if serviceable to a few, they will be so only so long as the demonstration is before them; an hour afterwards, they will fear they have been deceived. Cicero expresses the same thought still more clearly. *Nescio quo modo, dum lego, assentior; cum posui librum, et mecum ipse capi cogitare, assensio omnis illa elabitur.* Pascal argues further, that this kind of proof can lead only to a speculative knowledge of God, and to know him in this manner is nearly as bad as to be entirely ignorant of him. In order to know God like a Christian, man must become acquainted with the misery of his own condition, his unworthiness, and his need of a mediator. These truths must not be separated, or they will become not only useless, but injurious. "To know God, without being aware of our own misery, gives birth to pride; to be conscious of our own wretchedness, without any knowledge of Jesus Christ, leads to despair. The knowledge of the Saviour exempts us both from pride and despair; for in him we find God, and the secret of our miserable state, and the means of rising above it." We must become acquainted with human things, he adds, before loving them; but we must love divine things, in order to know them.

It is obvious, that Pascal's intention was to create the state of mind which is necessary for the due reception of religious truth, before offering any arguments in direct support of that truth. He seeks first to humble the pride of the intellect, to

point out the enigmas and inconsistencies of our nature, its greatness and feebleness, its pride and abjectness, to convince mankind of their degraded and corrupt condition, and then to show, in the sublime mysteries of Christian faith, at once an explanation of their fallen state, a solace for their sufferings in this world, and a glorious hereafter. "Every one," he says, "must take his side, and range himself in the ranks either of Pyrrhonism or dogmatism; for he who thinks to remain neuter will be a Pyrrhonist *par excellence*; this neutrality is the very essence of Pyrrhonism." But the difficulty of making the choice is great; for "reason confutes the dogmatists, and nature confounds the skeptics; we have an incapacity of demonstration, which the former cannot overcome; we have a conception of truth, which the latter cannot disturb." Thus bandied about between opposing difficulties, constantly urged to continue a pursuit which can never be successful, man is disappointed, helpless, and miserable, unless light come to him from heaven, and an almighty arm be stretched out for his aid. "Man," he observes, "has a secret instinct, that leads him to seek diversion and employment from without; this springs from the consciousness of his continual misery. He has another secret impulse, remaining from the grandeur of his primitive state, which teaches him that happiness can exist only in repose. And from these two contrary instincts, there arises in him an obscure idea, concealed in the depths of the soul, that prompts him to seek repose through agitation, and even to fancy that the contentment he does not enjoy will yet be found, if by struggling still a little longer he can open the door to rest. Thus passes his whole life. He seeks for repose by contending against certain obstacles; and when he has surmounted them, repose itself becomes insupportable."

The book is so incomplete and fragmentary, that it is very difficult to select passages which will give a fair view of the drift of his remarks, or the general characteristics of his manner. His language, also, from its remarkable compression and terseness, hardly admits of being translated without losing most of its vigor. But the following extract may give some idea of his power of thought and utterance.

"Let not man confine his view simply to the objects which surround him; let him contemplate all nature in its lofty and entire majesty; let him consider the great orb set like an ever-burning

beacon to illumine the universe ; let the earth appear to him like a point, in comparison with the vast circle which this luminary seems to describe ; let him wonder that this vast orbit is itself but a delicate point, when compared with that of the stars which roll in the firmament. If our sight stops here, the imagination passes beyond. The intellect ceases to conceive, before nature fails to supply. All that we see of the universe is but a spot imperceptibly small in the ample bosom of nature. No idea approaches the extent of infinite space. In vain would we dilate our conceptions ; we image to ourselves only atoms, in comparison with the reality. It is an infinite sphere, of which the centre is everywhere, and the circumference nowhere. And it is one of the most striking marks of the omnipotence of God, that our imagination is lost in this thought.

“And now, returning to himself, let him consider what man is, in comparison with all that is ; let him look upon himself as lost in this by-corner of nature ; and from the appearance of this little dungeon in which he is lodged — this visible world — let him learn to estimate himself, and the cities and kingdoms of this earth, at their true value. . . . In truth, what is man in the midst of nature ? A cipher in respect to the infinite, and all in comparison with nonentity, — a mean betwixt nothing and all. He is infinitely far removed from the two extremes ; and his being is not less distant from the nothingness whence he was drawn, than from the infinite in which he is engulfed. In the order of intelligent things, his intellect holds the same rank that his body does in the expanse of nature ; all that he can do is to discern some phenomena from the midst of things, in eternal despair of ever knowing their beginning or their end. All things came from nothing, and extend even to the infinite. Who can follow this astonishing progress ? The author of these marvels understands them ; to all others they are unintelligible. We burn with desire to know every thing, and to build a tower which shall rise even to the heavens. But our whole edifice cracks, and the earth opens beneath us even to the abyss.”

With this striking picture of the insignificance and weakness of man, contrast the following sublime reflection upon his grandeur as a thinking soul. “Man is the feeblest branch of nature, but it is a branch that thinks. It is not necessary that the whole universe should rise in arms to crush him. A vapor, a drop of water, is enough to kill him. But if the universe should crush him, he would still be nobler than that which causes his death ; for he knows that he is dying, and the universe knows nothing of its power over him.” It is in

view of contrarieties like these, that Pascal exclaims, "What an enigma, then, is man ! What a strange, chaotic, and contradictory being ! Judge of all things, feeble earth-worm, depository of the truth, mass of uncertainty, glory and butt of the universe, — if he boasts himself, I abase him ; if he humbles himself, I make my boast of him ; and I always contradict him, till he comprehends that he is an incomprehensible monster."

The great doctrine of the book, to which most of the preceding illustrations are subservient, is the duty of the entire submission of human reason in matters of faith. To this precept the writer recurs again and again, and seems never to be weary of inculcating it. Unquestionably it is a great truth, but a most perilous one to define and apply. He admits, that "reason alone can tell where reason ends." The humility of his spirit in enforcing this dogma appears the more remarkable, when contrasted with his singular boldness and independence of thought upon all other topics. On all matters of scientific inquiry, his resistance to the weight of authority, and his assertion of the right of private judgment, is one of the most striking traits of his genius. "Truth," he says, "is the most ancient of all things, — older than all the opinions that have been had of it ; whatever aspect antiquity may present, truth, however lately discovered, ought always to have the advantage over it ; it is gross ignorance to imagine that nature began to be, when it began to be known." His success in refuting the old scholastic doctrine of nature's abhorrence of a vacuum probably strengthened this independence of mind, and led him to dwell upon it with more earnestness. His fine remark, in speaking of the weight due to authority, that the ancients after all were only the children among mankind, has been so often cited without giving him credit for it, that it is worth while to quote it in his own words, though with considerable abridgment.

"Animals make no progress. The hexagonal cells of bees were as accurately measured and finished a thousand years ago, as they are at the present day. It is not so with man, who is born for eternity. He is ignorant at first, but constantly acquires knowledge, not only from his own experience, but from the accumulated wisdom of his predecessors. Men are now very nearly in the same condition that the ancient philosophers would have arrived at, if they could have lived till our times, constantly add-

ing to their knowledge what they might have acquired by study during so many centuries. All the generations of men during so many ages ought to be considered only as one man, who lives for ever, and is continually learning. Hence, how improper it is to respect philosophers for their antiquity ! For as old age is the period farthest removed from infancy, who does not see, that the old age of this universal man ought not to be sought for in the years nearest to his birth, but in those most remote from it ? Those whom we call the ancients were truly young in all things, and formed the infancy of mankind. As we have joined to their knowledge the experience of the ages which came after them, it is in us that this antiquity is to be found which we are wont to revere in others."

As Lord Bacon says nearly the same thing, it is not unlikely that Pascal derived the first hint of it from the writings of the English philosopher ; which is a farther proof of what we have already had reason to suspect, that he had profited by these writings in the earlier part of his career. After this resolute assertion of the liberties of mind in questions of human science, it is lamentable to find Pascal carrying his principle of submission in matters of faith so far as deliberately to state the following monstrous and revolting doctrine. "What can be more contrary to the rules of our wretched justice, than to damn eternally an infant incapable of volition, for an offence in which he seems to have had no share, as it was committed six thousand years before he was born ? Certainly, nothing shocks us more rudely than this doctrine ; and yet, without this mystery, the most inconceivable of all, we are incomprehensible even to ourselves. Man is more inconceivable without this mystery, than the mystery is inconceivable to man."

Only this submissive and childlike spirit in religious inquiry could have retained the otherwise bold and inquisitive intellect of Pascal in bondage to the Romish Church. This frame of mind may be partially accounted for by his experience in the Jansenist controversy, which had led him to put great stress upon the distinction between the *droit* and the *fait*, between questions of doctrine and matters of fact. He was thus induced blindly to accept whatever was taught by the fathers and the councils, while he opposed with unflinching skepticism the doctrines of the scholastic philosophy. He refers frequently to the Catholic doctrine respecting the

eucharist, and the Calvinistic one of the transmission of sin, in illustration of his favorite theme, the incapacity of human nature to comprehend religious truth. The following acute remark relates to the practice of auricular confession.

“Is it not true, that we hate the truth and those who utter it to us, while we love those who practise pleasant deceptions upon us, and wish to be esteemed by them as different beings from what we are? Here is a proof of it which shocks me. The Catholic religion does not require one to make known his sins indifferently to all the world; it permits him to conceal them from the view of other men in general; but it makes an exception in favor of one person, to whom it commands him to disclose the very depths of his heart, and to appear in his sight as he really is. There is but one man in the world whom it commands us thus to disabuse; and it binds him to inviolable secrecy, so that this knowledge is in him as if it did not exist at all. Can we imagine any thing more charitable and mild? And yet, the corruption of man is such, that he finds even this law too severe, and it is one of the principal reasons which have caused a great part of Europe to revolt against the Church. How unjust and unreasonable is the heart of man, to object to doing to one person what it would be only fair to do to all men! For is it just that we should deceive them? There are different degrees in this aversion to the truth; but it may be said to exist in all in some measure; for it is inseparable from self-love.”

This is very ingenious, but it is sophistical. We do not love nor practise deception *as such*, or for its own sake. We detest the flatterer, and cast him off as soon as his falsehood is exposed. We are pleased, indeed, when we learn that others entertain a good opinion of us; but this is only a mark of the kindly sympathy which binds societies of men together. The avowal, whether true or false, of this opinion is a matter of no substantive importance; it is the fact alone in which we are interested; if thoroughly convinced of the existence of this opinion, we could very well dispense with the expression of it. We are reluctant to expose our faults, because unwilling to fall in the estimation of our friends, or to afford matter of triumph to our enemies; but concealment is not prized for its own sake, nor from any wish to deceive. We fear ungenerous and harsh constructions; if the fault could be made known with all its palliating circumstances, and thus seem as excusable in the eyes of oth-

ers as it appears in our own, its disclosure would be a matter of comparative indifference. Some feelings, also, though perfectly innocent, are sensitive, and fear the light ; we conceal them, certainly without any consciousness of wrong, or any possibility of injurious deception. Faults are also hidden ; for though wrong in themselves, they may be harmless in respect to others, whose good opinion we prize, and therefore may be concealed from them without leading them into error, or exposing them to hazard. It is altogether too harsh to call silence deception, when it is practised under a belief that others have no right to know a secret which in no wise concerns their welfare, and which they would be likely to misconstrue, because all the attendant circumstances cannot be explained to them. Protestants object to auricular confession, not so much from unwillingness to confess their secret sins, as from a dislike of the assumption of authority, by a person weak and fallible like themselves, to know and judge their actions. Veracity is always a duty ; but Pascal forgets that silence also is often a virtue. He might have been reminded of it by the next illustration which he gives of man's insincerity and opposition to the truth, from the fact, that the best friends often speak unguardedly of each other when out of hearing, and from the mischief that is often caused by indiscreet reports of such conversations. If every man, says he, knew all that his best friend had said of him, there would not be three friends left in the world. Such reports often do mischief, we admit ; yet not because they are true, but because they are imperfect. If one reported not only the indiscreet remark, but all the circumstances which led to it, the innocent intention with which it was uttered, and the unwillingness of the speaker to cause pain or commit a wrong, no breach of friendship would ensue.

We have no space to carry any further our analysis of this remarkable book, which such competent judges as Dr. Arnold have ranked among the "greatest masterpieces of human genius." Our remarks, desultory and incomplete as the work itself, must end with the citation of a few more of the aphorisms, though much of their spirit necessarily escapes in a translation. Speaking of the Jewish Scriptures, Pascal observes : —

"I find no reason to doubt the truth of a book which contains

all these things ; for there is a great difference between a book which a person makes and throws among a people, and a book which of itself makes a people. We cannot doubt that the book is at least as old as the people."

"Between us and heaven, hell or annihilation, there is only human life, which of all things in the world is the frailest."

"When we would show any one that he is mistaken, our best course is to observe on what side he considers the subject, for his view of it is generally right on his side, and admit to him, that he is right so far. He will be satisfied with this acknowledgment, that he was not wrong in his judgment, but only inadvertent in not looking at the whole of the case. For we are less ashamed of not having seen the whole, than of being deceived in what we do see ; and this may perhaps arise from an impossibility of the understanding being deceived in what it does see, just as the perceptions of the senses, as such, must always be true."

"Nature has its perfections, to show that it is the image of God, and its faults, to show that it is only his image."

"Unbelievers are the most credulous persons in the world ; they believe the miracles of Vespasian, in order not to believe those of Moses."

"The multitude which cannot be reduced to unity is confusion ; and the unity which does not depend on multitude is tyranny."

"The synagogue did not perish, because it was a type of the church ; but as it was only a type, it fell into servitude. The symbol existed until the reality appeared, in order that the church might always be visible, either in the image which foreshadowed it, or in reality."

"What can be more ridiculous and vain than the doctrine of the Stoics, and what more baseless than their whole reasoning ? They conclude, that what a man can sometimes do he can always do ; and because the desire of glory enables those who are actuated by it to accomplish something noble, that others will be able to do as much. Theirs are the convulsive efforts of a man in a fever, which one in health cannot imitate."

"I cannot pardon Descartes. It was his ambition, in his system of philosophy, to be able to do without God altogether ; but he was obliged to suppose the Deity gave the world a fillip in order to set it in motion ; after which there was nothing more for him to do."

"We are not to suppose that Plato and Aristotle always wore their long robes, and appeared as dignified and serious personages. They were good-natured persons, who enjoyed a laugh with their friends, like the rest of the world ; and when they wrote upon legislation and politics, it was only by way of enjoying them-

selves and seeking diversion. This was the least philosophical and the least serious portion of their lives; the most philosophical part of it was when they lived most simply and tranquilly."

"The virtue of a man ought not to be measured by his great efforts, but by his ordinary conduct."

"If we dreamed every night the same thing, it would affect us as much perhaps as the objects which we see every day. If an artisan was sure of dreaming every night, for twelve hours, that he was a king, I believe he would be nearly as happy as a king who should dream every night, for twelve hours, that he was an artisan. If we dreamed every night that we were pursued by enemies and harassed by terrible phantoms, while we passed every day in various occupations, we should suffer nearly as much as if the dream were true, and should dread going to sleep, as we now dread to wake, from the fear of really falling into such misfortunes. In truth, these dreams would cause nearly as much suffering as the reality. But because dreams are very various and unlike each other, what we see in them affects us much less than what we see in our waking hours, on account of the continuity of events when we are awake; this continuity, however, is not so fixed and constant as to be wholly free from change, though the scenes shift less suddenly and less frequently. Life is only a rather more constant dream."

ART. II. — *History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America, from the earliest Times to the Treaty of Washington, 1842.* By HENRY WHEATON, LL. D., Minister of the United States at Berlin, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Moral and Political Science in the Institute of France. New York: Gould, Banks, & Co. 1845. 8vo. pp. 797.

IN taking notice of a work on international law written by the accomplished minister of the United States to the court of Berlin, we need not bespeak for it any attention, which the long established reputation of the author would not of itself command. Mr. Wheaton's name is no stranger to the pages of this Journal; it has for years been most honorably connected with not only the literary, but the legal and diplomatic, annals of our country. No writer ever enjoyed greater

opportunities for testing the principles deduced from the works of philosophers and historians by their application to the business of cabinets ; while as a jurist, associated in its brightest days with the most august tribunal in America, whose province is not only to expound constitutional and municipal law, but to interpret treaty obligations and the law of nations, our author became conversant, at an early period, with the operations of the international code upon the rights and duties of individuals.

The work now before us owes its origin to the proposal of a subject for a prize essay by the Institute of France, and its object is to trace the progress which the law of nations has made since the treaty of Westphalia. But much of the interest which it has for the American reader is derived from the additions made to it since its translation into the English language. These preserve in a durable form the diplomatic papers written by Mr. Webster during the negotiation of the treaty of Washington, and which of themselves would be enough to establish for their author an enduring fame as a statesman and a jurist.

International law, in the sense in which we understand it, consisting, when not based upon express conventional arrangements, of recognized principles, forming a sort of common law among the independent states of Christendom, can hardly be said to have had an existence among the nations of antiquity. The Greeks and Romans respectively regarded all other people as barbarous. The Greeks had among themselves, owing to their common origin and the similarity of their systems of religion, some regulations tending to mitigate the ferocity of war between their different states ; but these were rather religious than political institutions, providing for resort to the temples and oracles of the gods in war as well as in peace, and for the burial of the dead, and other matters of a similar character. Even the Amphictyonic Council, which we are in the habit of regarding as a federal tribunal, and as the political arbiter of Greece, in reality enjoyed few prerogatives, and these were chiefly of a religious nature. The only institution at all resembling the permanent legations of modern times, having for its object to preserve good-will and remove causes of offence among nations, was that of the *proxeni*. These agents, however, were not usually citizens of the country whose business they

transacted, but of the state in which they resided ; and their functions were of the character which, according to the usage of modern times, would be deemed consular, not diplomatic.

The rich stores of Grecian literature furnish not one treatise on the law which should regulate the intercourse of nations with each other. Indeed, under the views then prevalent, it is difficult to find any basis for such an essay ; and though Grotius refers to one as among the lost books of Aristotle, Barbeyrac shows, that this eminent writer had been led into an error by one of the commentators of Aristotle, who had mistaken the title, which was *Δικαιώματα πόλεων*, and not *Δικαιώματα πόλεμων*, or a treatise on government, and not on war.

The Roman policy aimed at universal aggrandizement, and regarded all nations as enemies until they were incorporated into the commonwealth. With them, a system of public law, like that which now exists among the civilized nations of the world, could have no place. In the whole body of the Roman civil law, as it has come down to us, there is no allusion to international relations ; and the very term *legatus* is applied, not to an ambassador, but to the deputy-governor of a province. It is true, that the fecial law gave regularity to war, and we have memorable examples of the good faith of Roman generals towards the public enemy under the most trying circumstances ; but there was nothing to prevent the confiscation of the property of the vanquished, both public and private, and the condemnation of the captives and their posterity to endless servitude. We may here observe, that in no one particular has the advance in civilization been more marked, even since the days of Grotius, than with reference to the treatment of prisoners of war. At the period in question, though not tolerated in practice among Christian nations, the right to reduce prisoners to slavery was not denied to be a principle of public law. The course which then prevailed was that of ransoming the captives, which had succeeded to the custom of enslaving them ; and this was effected not at the expense of the government, but of the prisoner, while the sum paid was the private emolument of the individual captor. The first example to be found of an exchange of prisoners, according to the usage of the present day, dates back only to 1665, when an agent for that purpose was sent

from Holland to England, *flagrante bello* ; but the old practice of ransoming the captured is referred to in a cartel between England and France so late as 1780, and in this paper the money price for men of all ranks, both in the land and naval service, is given.

The treaty of Westphalia is made the epoch from which to trace the improvements in public law. Before that period, the Reformation had liberated the minds of men from ecclesiastical thralldom. The rights of civil and religious liberty had been vindicated, as well in Germany as in the republics of the United Provinces and of Switzerland, to whose political independence a formal sanction was at that time accorded. The constitution of the empire itself was also adjusted on a basis which was preserved in all its essential features, till it was overturned by the progress of the French Revolution, — a torrent which annihilated in its course all ancient landmarks. Much, however, had previously been done to build up that system of public law, which was already recognized by the civilized nations of Europe. The civil law, never entirely superseded as to the Roman population of the former provinces of the empire, had established for itself an acknowledged sway throughout the continent, and might well have been considered as its international code, so far as it was applicable to the intercourse of states with each other. In addition to those simple principles of justice, which could not well be disputed, the usages of nations had also formed a consuetudinary law. Mr. Wheaton enumerates among the publicists who wrote before Grotius, Victoria and Soto, those doctors of Salamanca, who had the boldness in the sixteenth century to support the rights of the unfortunate American aborigines against the avarice of the Spaniards ; Balthazar Ayala, a native of the Netherlands, also a subject of the King of Spain ; Conrad Brunus, a German civilian, who, as our author remarks, is nowhere mentioned by Grotius ; and Alberico Gentili, an Italian by birth, who is known to us not only as an advocate in the English admiralty courts, but as professor of civil law at Oxford, and whose work, "*De Jure Belli*," we may infer, was, at least in respect to the arrangement of the subject, nearly of the same utility to Grotius as the subsequent labors of Wolf were to Vattel. The *consolato del mare*, which is the basis of the maritime jurisprudence of Europe, may be traced as far back as the fourteenth century.

On the state of the public law, as it existed at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia, the work of Grotius, though written during the Thirty Years' war, may be considered as a trustworthy authority. It was published in 1625, twenty-three years before the peace ; and though his citations are generally drawn from the poets, philosophers, and historians of antiquity, excluding all allusions to contemporaneous discussions, it was by his writings and those of his disciples, that the statesmen who took part in the adjustment of the affairs of Europe at that memorable epoch were formed.

"During this period," says Mr. Wheaton, "the influence of the writings of the publicists was perceptibly felt in the councils and conduct of nations. The diplomacy of the seventeenth century was learned and laborious in the transaction of business. Its state papers are filled with appeals, not merely to reasons of policy, but to the principles of right, of justice, and equity ; to the authority of the oracles of public law ; to those general rules and principles by which the rights of the weak are protected against the invasions of superior force, by the union of all who are interested in the common danger. In the present age, these laborious discussions appear superfluous and pedantic. These general principles are taken for granted, and it is not thought necessary to demonstrate them by reasoning on the authority of the learned. But in the times of which we speak, they had not acquired the force of axioms, and required to be fortified by argument and an appeal to testimonies, which showed the general concurrence of enlightened men in the rules of justice, which regulate, or ought to regulate, the intercourse of nations." — pp. 79, 80.

Mr. Wheaton divides the history of international law, during the two hundred years which he passes in review, into four distinct epochs. In this arrangement it is not our intention to follow him ; but we shall briefly notice the principal topics to which his work refers. The most interesting question that is discussed relates to the right of intervention of one state in the affairs of another, which topic presents itself under several phases in the modern history of Europe. We shall, however, postpone all reference to it, till we have considered the other matters noticed by Mr. Wheaton ; and then we shall examine it in connection with those suggestions of a system of permanent intervention, which philanthropists

at different periods have proposed as a preventive for the evils of war. Other points worthy of special notice are those growing out of the conflicting rights of belligerents and neutrals in maritime wars, involving the right to search vessels, either with or without convoy, together with the question, how far the neutrality of the ship protects the cargo. The application of the term *contraband*, the law of blockade, and the right of neutrals to carry on a trade opened to them by a belligerent in war, but in which they are not allowed to participate in peace, are among the other important subjects considered in this work. Between the United States and Great Britain grave disputes have arisen respecting the right of search for men, with a view of impressing sailors from American merchant-vessels, on the plea that they were British subjects; and more recently, and in time of peace, respecting the right to search vessels in order to ascertain their national character, and prevent them from taking a part in the African slave-trade; also, upon the question, how far a merchant-vessel driven into a foreign port by stress of weather is subject to the local jurisdiction. The right of riparian owners to the use of navigable rivers to the sea has been a subject of negotiation both in Europe and America.

The question, whether the ship shall protect the goods on board of it, was among the points about which jurists differed at an early period, and a contrariety of opinion and practice respecting it has prevailed among nations down to the present day. The ordinance of Louis the Fourteenth not only followed the *consolato del mare* in determining that the goods of an enemy in the ship of a friend were liable to capture, but rejected the rule, that the goods of a friend in an enemy's ship were exempt from seizure, thus construing the regulation in every case in favor of the belligerent. We may see how far the early code of France was opposed to those maritime rights, of which she subsequently professed to be the champion, by adverting to the ordinance of Francis the First, which made a neutral vessel liable to confiscation for being laden with enemy's goods. This provision was revived in the ordinance of Louis the Fourteenth, in 1681, and continued to be the law till 1744, in the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, when the enemy's goods alone were condemned, the ship being restored. This, however, was a regulation peculiar to France and Spain, and the rule is not to be found in

the jurisprudence of any other country ; though Grotius deemed it necessary to combat the idea, that goods found on board an enemy's ship were inevitably to be confiscated. He considers only the presumption to be against them, and that it is incumbent on the neutral claimant to prove his property. He says, further, that the vessel of a friend is not good prize, because enemy's goods are found in it ; though he qualifies his position not a little by adding, "unless they were placed there by consent of the master."

It is worthy of remark; that the earliest relaxation in favor of neutrals is found in a treaty concluded by France with the Sublime Porte, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by which the goods of enemies on board of French vessels were exempted from capture. The same principle was adopted in other treaties between Turkey and the maritime states of Christendom, while the double provision of *free ships free goods, enemy's ships enemy's goods*, is contained in the treaty of the Pyrenees between France and Spain. Great Britain, also, in her several treaties with Portugal, France, and Holland, concluded previously to the treaty of Utrecht, had conceded the principle, that free ships make free goods. That rule was a favorite one with Holland, also, and she succeeded in establishing it with France by the treaty of Nimeguen, in 1678, which was subsequently confirmed by that of Ryswick, in 1697. France adopted the same principle in her treaty with Denmark, in 1663, and with Sweden, in 1672. But in the treaties of that period which Sweden and Denmark had with one another, and which England had with each of them, the old principle of the *consolato del mare*, declaring that the goods of a neutral in an enemy's ship were free, and confiscating enemy's goods on board of a neutral vessel, may be found. The treaties of the peace of Utrecht were followed by commercial conventions between Great Britain and Holland, and France and England, in all of which the maxim, *free ships free goods, enemy's ships enemy's goods*, was recognized.

The modifications of the law of nations contained in the treaties of Utrecht did not extend to nations not parties to those treaties, and as they were all belligerents in the maritime war terminated by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, the *casus fœderis* never arose ; and though Holland was neutral during the war of 1756, yet, on the pretext that she had not

fulfilled the guaranties contained in her treaties, Great Britain refused to allow her any benefit from the provision in the antecedent treaties, that free ships made free goods. The maritime law, as it existed in practice, was directly opposed to the provisions of treaties, — the latter sustaining the principle last referred to, while the former adhered to the rules of the *consolato del mare*. The conflict between these principles, during the war preceding the peace of Aix la Chapelle, occasioned the dispute, memorable on more accounts than one, between England and Prussia, in relation to the Silesian loan. It grew out of the capture of Prussian ships, and their subsequent condemnation by the Court of Admiralty, on pretext of having enemy's goods on board, or articles deemed contraband, though not recognized as such in the treaties which Great Britain had made with other powers. Not only was the sufficiency of the ground of seizure denied, in consequence of which Prussia retained the debt due to British merchants, secured by mortgage on the revenues of Silesia, but the exclusiveness of the decision of the Admiralty Court was also disputed. The difficulty was settled, however, as questions between governments usually are, by mutual concession, waiving the question of right, and the case cannot therefore be cited as establishing rules in the law of nations.

The treaty between the United States and France, in 1778, concluded before the armed neutrality to which we shall presently advert, established the principle of *free ships free goods*, the benefit of which was extended, by a French ordinance of the 6th of July, 1778, to all neutral powers, to whom also was conceded the right of sailing from one port of the enemy to another, unless blockaded. With Great Britain we never have had a stipulation of this nature, and the conclusion of the treaty of 1794 with that power, recognizing the rule of law which is understood to prevail in the absence of all treaties, was made the ground of reclamation on the part of France, and led to the decree of the 2d of March, 1796, authorizing the capture of enemy's property in American vessels, and declaring that the United States had renounced the privileges enjoyed under the treaty of 1778. The principle, that free ships make free goods, was, however, again restored by the treaty of 1810 with France, and still continues the rule between the United States and most of the powers with which we have special treaties. It was

adopted in our first treaties with the United Netherlands in 1782, with Sweden in 1783, and with Prussia in 1785.

But this principle, of late years, has steadily been resisted by Great Britain, who, in her last commercial convention with her old ally, Portugal, induced that power to renounce a provision, which went back as far as 1654 ; and the commercial treaty of 1786, between Great Britain and France, in which the provision of free ships making free goods was incorporated, was defended by the minister of the day only on the ground that it was likely to be wholly inoperative, as a case could scarcely be conceived, where one of these parties would be engaged as a belligerent while the other was neutral. It may here be remarked, that in the subsequent treaties of peace between Great Britain and France, as in that of Amiens in 1801, and of Paris in 1814, a total silence has been observed as to all disputed principles of maritime law.

The extent to which articles might be declared contraband of war has also been a matter of frequent conventional arrangement. The ordinance of Louis the Fourteenth had confined the term *contraband* to munitions of war ; while Grotius considers those things that are useful in war to be at all times contraband, but that those which may be used indiscriminately in war and peace are liable to seizure only in consequence of the necessities of the capturing belligerent ; in which case, the capture is not placed on the ground of the illegal conduct of the neutral, but is referable to the wants of the belligerents ; and with this opinion Bynkershoek coincides. Contraband goods, in the old French law, were subjected, not to confiscation, but to the right of preëmption ; while it seems to have been the early usage of the English admiralty courts to condemn both ship and cargo, on account of the contraband articles. By the modern English practice, naval stores and provisions are subject to the right of preemption only. Our treaty of 1794 with Great Britain contains a definition of contraband, and declares further, that, in those cases in which provisions and other articles not generally contraband shall become so, full indemnification shall be made by the captors. This provision was induced by the complaints against the British order of June, 1793, and for which the subsequent order of April, 1795, afforded renewed occasion. The British proceedings were defended,

as well on the ground of reducing the enemy to terms by famine, as from necessity on the part of the English themselves, who were threatened with a scarcity of the articles directed to be seized.

The legality of those orders formed a subject of inquiry before the mixed commission under the treaty referred to, in which, as full justice has never been done to the labors of our commissioners, it may be permitted to one who has had occasion to study minutely their arguments, to state, that the principles of the law of nations applicable to the subject were fully exhausted in the able and conclusive opinions of those enlightened jurists, Gore and Pinckney, while the judgments of Trumbull are in no wise calculated to detract from the well earned fame which he afterwards obtained in other spheres of action. The result to our citizens, it may be added, was an ample indemnity.

Complaints about the spoliation of the property of our merchants, through the infractions of maritime law by Great Britain, under her orders in council, after the peace of Amiens, were all merged in an appeal to arms against that country. But the contemporaneous proceedings of Napoleon under the Berlin, Milan, and other decrees, in which he succeeded in making those powers of the continent participate over whom he exercised a commanding influence, while they retained a nominal sovereignty, have been atoned for in the several treaties of indemnity with France, Naples, and Denmark, the last of which was concluded, on the part of the United States, by Mr Wheaton himself.

The law of blockade was, in the time of Grotius, as it is at the present day, a matter of sharp contention between belligerents and neutrals, though that great writer founds the right of the former upon the expectation of compelling peace or a surrender of the blockaded place ; and so far from confiscating the vessel and cargo for an infraction of it in all cases, he is for imposing on the neutral only an indemnity for the damage occasioned by his conduct, or security against a repetition of the offence. Bynkershoek, in his enumeration of the treaties anterior to those of Utrecht, infers that the cases subjecting to forfeiture for breach of blockade were those in which contraband articles were in question. His comments on the decree of the States General in 1630, for the blockade of the ports of Flanders, show that paper blockades

were considered no more defensible by the publicists of that day than they are now, in despite of all attempts since made to sustain them both by England and France. But in the efforts of the Dutch, in 1652, to prohibit to the world all trade with the English, and in those of the Spaniards to blockade the whole coast of Portugal, we have illustrations of the same arrogant pretensions by which the conduct of the maritime belligerents during the war of the French Revolution was characterized ; and in the treaty of 1680 between England and Holland against France, we find the untenable pretension of blockading the whole French coast. This pretension was resisted by the same Baltic powers who, near a century afterwards, united with Russia in that "armed neutrality" which gave to the reign of the Empress Catharine so much of its lustre.

The belligerent right of search, which is not to be confounded with the pretension called the right of visit, recently asserted for the purpose of ascertaining the nationality of vessels in time of peace, was recognized in the *consolato del mare*. This right, as well as the punishment of confiscation for resisting it, was maintained in the early regulations of England, France, and Spain, though the pretensions of these states were frequently resisted by Holland and the Baltic powers. In early times, it was difficult to distinguish between claims founded on the right of search, and those supposed to be derived from the jurisdiction over the close seas. The preposterous claims of Spain and Portugal, founded on the bulls of Alexander the Sixth, to the commerce, navigation, and fisheries of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the attempt to refute which gave occasion to the "*Mare Liberum*" of Grotius, have passed into oblivion. But so late as 1803, we find England refusing to extend to the seas adjacent to the British isles the provisions respecting impressment, which she was willing to concede in the treaty made with Mr. King as to the rest of the ocean. Great Britain then adhered to those doctrines which were the basis of the "*Mare Clausum*" of Selden, and which Gentili had maintained, though the assertion of them in former times had occasioned so many bloody contests with France and Holland.

This dispute respecting adjacent parts of the ocean is quite distinct from the claim to so much of the sea as may be brought under special jurisdiction, — within cannon-shot of

the coast, for example, — and over the waters between headlands. Not only has jurisdiction been assumed in such cases for revenue purposes by our government, but exception has been taken to the cruising of belligerent public vessels on our coasts, though not strictly within the marine league. The right of laying tolls on vessels passing the Sound, and the two Belts connecting the Baltic with the North Sea, is founded on the ownership of the adjacent shores, which belonged exclusively to Denmark, till the cession of Scania to Sweden in 1658.

A collateral question connected with the right of search is the right of a state to protect merchantmen against its exercise by the presence of a vessel-of-war. This claim was asserted as early as 1653, by Christina of Sweden, though the termination of the war then prevailing between the Dutch and English prevented its being applied in practice. A provision to the same effect was incorporated into the Danish code of 1688, but it seems never to have been called into operation. During the wars growing out of the French Revolution, the question was tested by England both with Sweden and Denmark, who, with the United States, during the greater part of those contests, were the only neutral maritime powers. The Swedish case arose in 1798, when a fleet of merchantmen, carrying cargoes of naval stores, the produce of Sweden and the property of Swedish subjects, to the Mediterranean ports in possession of France, under convoy of a ship-of-war, was captured by a British squadron, and proceeded against in the Court of Admiralty for an alleged breach of the right of visitation and search. The decision of Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell), on that occasion, is among the most celebrated efforts of that distinguished judge. After denying the right of a foreign neutral sovereign to interpose between his subjects and a belligerent cruiser, he pronounced sentence of confiscation, resting his decision, it may be said, on a citation from Vattel,* which, however conclusive on the general right of search, does not in the least touch the question of convoy, the only point at issue.

In December, 1799, a skirmish took place between a Danish frigate, convoying a fleet of merchantmen, and some British ships-of-war. The Danes fired on the British boats,

* Vattel, Liv. III. Chap. 7, § 114.

and the convoy was allowed to pass ; but the English ministers complained of the proceeding to the court of Denmark, as if they were the aggrieved party, and Count Bernstoff, in his reply, resisted the claim to visit vessels under convoy. But in 1800, an engagement took place between the Danish frigate Freya, in attempting to defend her convoy from search, and some British cruisers, in which lives were lost and the Danish frigate was captured. Reclamations were made on both sides, and a special minister was sent to Copenhagen, accompanied, *in order to give greater weight to his representations*, by a fleet. A convention was ultimately made, restoring the frigate and merchantmen, Denmark agreeing to withhold convoy, till the question should be settled by a definitive treaty.

Among the maritime rules of general concern, which arose during the period under review, is one which was first attempted to be established in the war of 1756, from which it derives its name. The object was to confine neutrals during war to their accustomed trade in peace ; and the attempt to punish by confiscation those who carried on with the enemy a trade not open in peace was first made by Great Britain against the Dutch. To a similar proceeding in regard to Denmark are we indebted for the work of Hubner, the ablest advocate of neutral rights, who was employed on a special mission on this occasion to the courts of France and England. The rule was not put in operation during the American war, but was a subject of constant discussion in the wars growing out of the French Revolution, and was applied by Great Britain to the total interdiction of the trade between neutrals and the colonial possessions of the enemy. The United States felt most sensibly the effects of this policy, and the capture and confiscation of their vessels under it formed one of the causes of the war declared against Great Britain in 1812. The change of policy on the part of nations having colonies, in allowing foreigners to trade with them during peace, would of course render the rule no longer operative in the event of a future contest ; though to the analogous case of the coasting-trade, the principles, if persisted in, would continue to apply.

The most interesting incident in the history of modern maritime law is the "armed neutrality" of the Empress Catharine ; its origin shows how important political events

are often the result of apparent accident. It seems to have grown out of a rivalry in intrigue between the two courtiers Panin and Potémkin, operating upon the vanity and ignorance of the extraordinary woman who then occupied the Russian throne. It is even said, that Catharine entirely misapprehended the purport of the measure, and supposed that it would be particularly agreeable to England. The declaration, however, which has become so famous, was drawn up on the 26th of February, 1780, and communicated to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. It maintained, that neutral vessels might freely navigate from port to port on the coasts of nations at war, that enemy's goods not contraband should be free in neutral vessels, and only that port should be considered blockaded into which there was an evident danger of entering.

England answered with reserve, merely declaring that she had scrupulously fulfilled with Russia the obligations of her treaty and of the law of nations. From the enemies of Great Britain, and from all who were jealous of her power, the Russian declaration received a ready response. Spain declared her conformity, and France answered that the principles were no other than the rules prescribed to her own navy. Denmark and Sweden concurred, and concluded with Russia a convention of armed neutrality and for the equipment of a joint fleet. By this convention, the Baltic was declared *mare clausum* to the belligerent powers. The United Provinces, alternately menaced by England and France, the one requiring the stipulated succours, the other endeavouring to confirm the neutrality, acceded to the convention of armed neutrality, which led to the declaration of war against them by Great Britain on the 20th of December, 1780. The United States acceded on the 7th of April, 1781, Portugal on the 12th of July, 1782, and the King of the Two Sicilies on the 10th of February, 1783. Great Britain continued to act towards the neutral powers according to her previous practice, but exercised her rights with great caution, and did not put in force the rule of 1756.

A proposition to revive the armed neutrality, in some degree caused by the occurrence in relation to the Danish frigate Freya, was made by the Emperor Paul in 1800 ; and three several conventions were in consequence signed by Russia with Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, forming a

quadruple alliance, each of the powers acceding to the conventions with the others. The articles of these treaties were similar to the principles of the first armed neutrality ; and there was added a further provision to meet the case of convoy, by which it was declared, the rule of free ships making free goods having been stipulated, that the declaration of the officer of the convoy as to contraband goods, the only articles justifying search, should be deemed sufficient.

The battle of Copenhagen and the death of the Emperor Paul soon dissolved the confederacy. It led, however, to the commercial convention of 1801 between Great Britain and Russia, which is considered as forming of itself an important epoch in the history of maritime law. By this convention, the Northern powers gave up the point of *free ships free goods*, the right of search, however, being confined to public ships-of-war. Great Britain yielded in all matters relating to the colonial and coasting trade, to blockades and modes of search, and to the limitation of contraband to military stores. The question of convoys was compromised in such a way, that, while England retained the semblance of the principle, the search was not likely to occur in practice. It may be added, that, on the rupture in 1807 between Russia and England, the Russian government published a declaration proclaiming "anew the principles of the armed neutrality, that monument of the wisdom of the Empress Catharine," and engaging never to depart from this system ; while England proclaimed "anew the principles of maritime law, against which was directed the armed neutrality under the auspices of the Empress Catharine." The subsequent treaties between Great Britain and Russia, and those between Great Britain and France, are totally silent upon the disputed points.

In a retrospect, however rapid, we cannot omit reference to the peculiar provisions of the treaty of 1785, between the United States and Prussia, which were intended to introduce important ameliorations into the usages of modern warfare, particularly by exempting noncombatants on sea and land, and merchant-vessels, from the inconveniences incident to war, and stipulating against the issuing of commissions to private armed vessels. The rule against privateering was a favorite scheme of Dr. Franklin, who was one of the American plenipotentiaries, though he clearly saw that by

the adoption of it we should lose more than any other power. A subsequent proposition, to abolish private war on the sea, was made to Great Britain by our government under the administration of Mr. Monroe, in 1823 ; but though eloquently sustained in the instructions of Mr. Adams to Mr. Rush, was not even taken into consideration by the other party.

During the long wars consequent on the French Revolution, the United States, owing to the similarity of language and origin, were the principal sufferers from the assertion of the British claim to the perpetual service of all who were born subjects of England, and from the taking away of seamen, supposed to be of British origin, from neutral vessels. Not only was the practice calculated to render ineffectual the rights of citizenship conferred on foreigners by the laws of the United States, but in innumerable cases, either through accident or design, native-born citizens were impressed and put on board English men-of-war. No injury appealed so strongly to the feelings of the American people as this, and to seek redress for it was one of the prominent objects of the last war. The war terminated, however, without any arrangement on this subject, and the matter has since, on several occasions, been brought up for discussion. In the negotiations of 1823, the American minister was authorized, if Great Britain would agree to abolish impressment, to stipulate to exclude all natural-born subjects of the belligerent party, not naturalized before the commencement of the war, from the public or private naval service of the neutral, and even to extend the exclusion to all those naturalized after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty ; but Great Britain was then unwilling to treat on the matter. Impressment was also one of the numerous subjects confided to Mr. Gallatin, during his mission to London in 1826. In consequence, however, of what had previously occurred, that eminent diplomatist, though authorized to receive and discuss, was not permitted to make, any new proposals ; and he found, that, " though Mr. Canning (who was then premier) was, as Lord Castlereagh had been, ahead of public opinion or national pride, he did not feel himself quite strong enough to encounter those sentiments, and to give new arms to his adversaries ; and notwithstanding his conviction that an agreement such as we might accept was extremely desirable, he was not prepared at that time to make the proposal."

The change in the relative power of the two parties since the occurrences referred to, as well as the alterations in the mode of manning the royal navy, will probably prevent any recurrence of the practice ; but we cannot omit commending to the notice of the American reader the able argument of Mr. Webster upon this topic, addressed during the late negotiation to Lord Ashburton. Irrespective of the question of right, the Secretary clearly shows, on grounds somewhat novel, that the practice is opposed to the interests of England. To continue the claim is to put obstacles in the way of the emigration, which has proved so beneficial both to Great Britain and the United States.

"England acknowledges herself overburdened with population of the poorer classes. Every instance of the emigration of persons of these classes is regarded by her as a benefit. England therefore encourages emigration ; means are voluntarily supplied to emigrants to assist their conveyance, from public funds ; and the New World, and most especially these United States, receive the many thousands of her subjects thus ejected from the bosom of their native land by the necessities of their condition. They come away from poverty and distress in over-crowded cities, to seek employment, comfort, and new homes, in a country of free institutions, possessed by a kindred race, speaking their own language, and having laws and usages in many respects like those to which they have been accustomed ; and a country which, upon the whole, is found to possess more attractions for persons of their character and condition than any other on the face of the globe.

"In time, they mingle with the new community in which they find themselves, and seek means of living ; some find employment in the cities, others go to the frontiers, to cultivate lands reclaimed from the forests ; and a greater or less number of the residue, becoming in time naturalized citizens, enter into the merchant service, under the flag of their adopted country. If war should break out between England and a European power, can any thing be more unjust, any thing more irreconcilable to the general sentiments of mankind, than that England should seek out these persons, thus encouraged by her, and compelled by their own condition, to leave their own native homes, tear them away from their new employments, their new political relations, and their domestic connections, and force them to undergo the dangers and hardships of a military service for a country which

has thus ceased to be their own country? Is it not far more reasonable, that England should either prevent such emigration of her subjects, or that, if she encourage and promote it, she should leave them, not to the embroilment of a double and a contradictory allegiance, but to their own voluntary choice to form such relations, political or social, as they see fit in the country where they are to find their bread, and to the laws and institutions of which they are to look for defence and protection?" — pp. 740–742.

The exemption of American vessels, driven by stress of weather into ports in the Bahama Isles, from the operation of the English laws, so far as regards property in the slaves which may be on board of them, is maintained by Mr. Webster on the ground, that a vessel at sea is to be regarded as part of the territory to which she belongs, and that her being forced into a port, contrary to the intention of the owner or master, cannot affect her rights. Furthermore, "By the comity of the law of nations, and the practice of modern times, merchant-vessels entering open ports of other nations, for the purpose of trade, are presumed to bring with them, and to retain for their protection and government, the jurisdiction and laws of their own country."

"If," he adds, "vessels of the United States, pursuing lawful voyages from port to port, along their own shore, are driven by stress of weather, or carried by unlawful force, into English ports, the government of the United States cannot consent that the local authorities in these ports shall take advantage of such misfortunes, and enter them for the purpose of interfering with the condition of persons or things on board, as established by their own laws. If slaves, the property of citizens of the United States, escape to British territories, it is not expected that they will be restored. In that case, the territorial jurisdiction of England will have become exclusive over them, and must decide their condition. But slaves on board of American vessels, lying in British waters, are not within the exclusive jurisdiction of England, or under the exclusive operation of English law; and this founds the broad distinction between the cases." — p. 729.

The attempt of England, sanctioned as it is by treaties with most of the maritime powers of Europe, to visit vessels on the coast of Africa, with a view to ascertain whether they are slavers and belong to a country which has conceded the reciprocal right of search, was a matter of exciting discussion between the governments of the United States and

Great Britain, to settle which was one of the primary objects of Lord Ashburton's mission. The treaty of Washington, however, leaves untouched the principle in dispute, and merely provides for the maintenance of independent squadrons for the suppression of the slave-trade ; and though the United States and Great Britain have affixed to this traffic the denomination of piracy, yet the highest tribunals of both countries, notwithstanding some indications which were at first given of a contrary nature, have concurred in considering it merely an offence against the municipal law, to be tried in the courts of the nation to which the vessel belongs, or by the mixed commissions established by special treaties, and not as a violation of the law of nations, which would authorize all civilized powers to regard the parties engaged in it as outlaws. Indeed, the proposition made by Lord Castlereagh to the Congress of Aix la Chapelle, in 1818, to denounce the slave-trade as piracy, was unqualifiedly rejected by the allied powers.

The right of riparian inhabitants to the use of navigable rivers to their outlet is a subject, the discussion of which has been of late years very interesting to the people both of Europe and America. It was agitated in 1784, by Joseph the Second, in relation to the Scheldt, the great outlet of the Catholic Belgic provinces, which had been closed by the treaty of Westphalia ; but the difficulties between the emperor and the Dutch were settled without the cession by the latter of the desired privilege. After the American Revolution, the question came up between the United States and Spain, in relation to the Mississippi, and attracted the attention of the Congress of the Confederation, besides furnishing occasion for the earliest diplomatic negotiations with Spain under our new government. By the treaty of 1763, the Mississippi had been made the boundary between the English and French possessions in America, and the right of navigation established in favor of the subjects of Great Britain, from its source to the sea. Louisiana was subsequently ceded by France to Spain ; and in the treaty of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain, the right of navigation, so far as these two powers were concerned, was secured to both. Spain, however, resisted the claim, on the ground of having gained possession of both banks of the river at its mouth ; while

the right was claimed by the United States, as well by the law of nature and nations, as by the treaties of 1763 and 1783. The dispute was terminated by the treaty of San Lorenzo el Real, in 1795, by which it was agreed, that the navigation of the Mississippi should be free in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, to citizens of the United States. By the cession of Louisiana to France, and its subsequent acquisition by the United States, and by the omission in the treaty of Ghent to renew the stipulation in favor of Great Britain as to the Mississippi, no part of which, it has been ascertained, lies in British territory, the right to its navigation has become exclusive in the United States.

By the treaty of Paris, in 1814, it had been stipulated, that the navigation of the Rhine and the Scheldt should be free ; and the discussions for effecting that object form an interesting chapter in the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna. By the *final act* of that body, as well as by the treaties between the riparian states of Germany, and by the conventions for the separation of Belgium and Holland, these objects were fully accomplished. Similar arrangements have been made as to other rivers of Europe, so that, in practice, subject perhaps to certain regulations as to tolls for the preservation of the works and the regulation of the police, the right of all the inhabitants bordering on a river to the use of it to the sea may be considered as part of the public law of Europe.

An attempt has more than once been made by the United States to apply these principles to the navigation of the St. Lawrence. Our claim is supported, also, not only by the consideration, that the St. Lawrence was a joint acquisition at the time when the American Colonies and Great Britain constituted but one people, but by the fact, that the river is to be regarded as the outlet of the mediterranean seas of our continent, the navigation of which belongs exclusively to us and England. Great Britain, on her side, declares the right of passage to be an imperfect right, exclusively under the control of the local sovereign ; and no arrangement has ever been effected with her on this matter. Indeed, she has insisted, that there is no distinction between a passage by land and one by water, and that she might make as good a claim to pass over our territory to the ocean, either by land, or by the

artificial navigation which the State of New York has created, and the Hudson. Incontestable as is our right, we may be permitted to remark, that the withholding of it probably operates more injuriously to Great Britain than to us. The effect of its being conceded might be to divert no small portion of the trade upon the Lakes from our own seaboard to Montreal and Quebec.

The right of intervention of one nation in the affairs of another presents a most delicate question of international law. It is not only difficult to lay down any fixed principles by which it may be regulated, but the very admission of the right, in any form, opens the door to indefinite abuse. We know not that we can better illustrate this position, than by a cursory notice of the cases referred to by Mr. Wheaton, in which the attempt has been made to apply the rule.

For an intervention to preserve the balance of power, the dispute respecting the Spanish succession in the beginning of the eighteenth century afforded a plausible pretext. The powers of Europe interfered, in opposition to the feelings and wishes of the Spanish nation, to prevent its union with France or Austria, which would reconstruct the empire of Charles the Fifth, and thereby be prejudicial to the independence of other states. The acceptance of the testament made in favor of the Duc d'Anjou, grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, was the cause of a bloody war, which was terminated only by the peace of Utrecht. That treaty sanctioned the right of intervention, by establishing as a fundamental rule of European law, and without reference to the will of the nation, the separation of Spain and France, while it gave to the House of Austria possessions no less valuable than Belgium, Milan, and Naples.

The next occasion for the application of the principle of intervention grew out of the Austrian succession, on the death of Charles the Sixth, the last male descendant of the House of Hapsburg. The object of the coalition to which this event gave rise was not to preserve, but to overturn, the existing balance of power in Europe, by partitioning the greater part of the Austrian dominions between Bavaria, Saxony, Prussia, and Spain. Even Frederick the Second rested his claim to Silesia, as his own Memoirs show, on grounds such as those by which military conquerors justify aggression. The questions, however, which the death of

Charles the Sixth occasioned, were ultimately settled, at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, by the recognition of the pragmatic sanction in favor of his daughter, and without any other diminution of her dominions than the cession of Silesia to Prussia, and of one or two unimportant Italian principalities to an Infante of Spain.

The Seven Years' war, as that of 1756 is often termed, is principally memorable to us on this side of the Atlantic, as having put an end to the dominion of France in America, and left her great rival undisputed mistress of all those portions of the North American continent which were not the property of Spain. It was, also, not without its influence on the relative position of European states. The attempt of France and Spain to form that combination, which it was the object of the treaty of Utrecht to prevent, had been without effect, Great Britain triumphing over their combined naval forces. Prussia, however, at this epoch, had become a first-rate power; and Russia, having previously acquired a large territory on the Baltic, began to assume her position in the affairs of Europe; while Sweden, by her cessions, became more than proportionably impoverished, and Spain and Holland lost the position which they had once occupied.

The defects in the internal constitution of Poland afforded no apology for an act of wanton spoliation, in which the ablest sovereigns of their times, Frederick and Catharine, took part, and Austria, the other party, was not unwilling to join. The portions assigned to each were finally settled by a convention signed at St. Petersburg on the 5th of August, 1772; and this most wanton aggression was justified, by the declarations of the respective powers, from the necessity of intervention, in order that their own mutual harmony and friendship might not be destroyed by the disorders of the republic, and that more natural and sure boundaries might be established for Poland. This partition was finally confirmed in 1775 by the diet; but from this time Russia regarded Poland as a conquered province. In 1788, however, an estrangement between Prussia and Russia led to a treaty between what remained of Poland and the former power, and a new constitution, abolishing the *liberum veto*, and rendering the crown hereditary in the electoral house of Saxony, was adopted. But the hopes of this unfortunate people were but short-lived, and their ally again became their despoiler. A

second partition was made between Russia and Prussia in 1793 ; and in 1795 the work was completed by the third partition between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. What rendered this proceeding the more monstrous was the fact, that it was consummated at the very time when the partitioning powers were preaching a crusade against France, on account of her revolutionary doctrines, the influence of which, they asserted, was used for external aggrandizement. The proceeding of Austria in relation to the Bavarian succession, in 1778, was so palpably a case of spoliation of a weak by a stronger power, as not to require any comments.

Another case of intervention was that of Prussia in the internal affairs of Holland, in 1787, for the purpose of restoring the stadtholder, who had been suspended from his functions by the States General ; the immediate apology for interference being an alleged indignity offered to his wife, who was a princess of Prussia. The stadtholder was restored by foreign force, and sustained by treaties concluded with Great Britain and Prussia guarantying his power, while the leaders of the patriotic party were banished. This action was one of the most unjustifiable cases of interference on record, being a foreign guaranty to a nation of its own constitution against any changes made by itself, for which a parallel is to be found only in the stipulation after the first disastrous partition of Poland, by which a right of interposition was accorded to Russia. The alliance thus formed proceeded to interfere in the affairs of other nations, and interposed, in 1790, between Joseph the Second and his revolted Belgic provinces. This same triple alliance continued to exercise an influence in the affairs of Europe till the French Revolution ; and its mediation was employed in the wars between Russia and Sweden, and between Austria and the Porte, and Russia and the Porte.

The part which the French government took between Great Britain and her colonies, in the war of the American Revolution, has been cited as another case of intervention in the internal affairs of states. The treaties, however, which France made with the United States were based on the assumed fact of their actual independence ; and when her right to treat with them was denied, she offered the example of Queen Elizabeth, in the case of the United Netherlands. In that affair, though England not only made a treaty with

the revolted provinces, but published a manifesto declaring her determination to sustain them, her course occasioned no rupture with Spain. "It was sufficient for his Majesty's justification, that the colonies, forming by their number and the extent of their territory a considerable nation, had established their independence, not merely by a solemn declaration, but also in fact, and had maintained it against all the efforts of the mother country."

The application of the principle of intervention again occurs in the war of the French Revolution. This was an interference of a peculiar nature, intended to prevent the spread of revolutionary principles, and to preserve the balance of power by hindering the undue extension of the French dominions. The first attempt to meddle with her internal affairs was made by the Emperor Leopold, in behalf of the German princes who had feudal tenures and tithes in Alsace; the emperor, at least, had a pretext for his conduct, because he had guaranteed the treaty of Westphalia, by which Alsace was ceded to France. The Austrian *ultimatum* of the 7th of April, 1792, requiring the reëstablishment of the monarchy on the basis of the 23d of June, 1789, was a direct interference in the domestic concerns of France, which could not but justify the declaration of war that ensued. The Prussian manifesto distinctly sets forth, among the causes of war, the propagation of principles subversive of social order, which had thrown France into confusion. "To prevent the incalculable evils which might result to France, to Europe, and to humanity in general; to suppress anarchy in France; to reëstablish for this purpose a lawful power on the essential basis of a monarchical form; and by these means to secure other governments against the criminal and incendiary efforts of a band of madmen, — such was the great object of the king and his ally." The institutions of Great Britain would not permit her to assume the same grounds of intervention as the continental powers had done. Her complaints were founded on the meditated attack on Holland, the opening of the Scheldt, the invasion of the Netherlands, and the encouragement of revolts in other countries. She was anticipated in her declaration of hostilities; but Mr. Pitt said, that the English would not have gone to war to change the internal government of France, but being at war, they had a right to contend for what would give them

security ; and Lord Mornington, afterwards the Marquis of Wellesley, stated, in 1794, that, " while the present or any other Jacobin government exists in France, no proposition for peace can be made or received by us."

The Congress of Vienna assumed avowedly the office of reconstructing the system of Europe, and the four great powers, Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, asserted the right of disposing of all the territories of the French empire, which were not contained in the limits assigned to France, under her restored monarch ; though they subsequently admitted, as members of the directing committee, the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, Sweden, and Portugal, who were the other parties to the treaty of Paris.

The intervention of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the three powers that properly constituted the " Holy Alliance," in the Neapolitan revolution of 1820 ; of Austria, in that of Piedmont, in 1821 ; and of France, in the Spanish revolution of 1822, were cases of direct interference in the internal affairs of other states, based upon the propriety of making a general crusade against all revolutionary movements, and all constitutional changes which did not proceed from the sovereign himself. But in none of these proceedings did Great Britain concur. Indeed, on the last occasion, England, as well as the United States, protested against the right of the allied powers to interfere between Spain and her American colonies ; and the United States declared, that they would consider any attempt on the part of the allied powers to extend their peculiar political system to the American continent as dangerous to our peace and safety.

The intervention of Great Britain, in 1826, in the affairs of Portugal, was based upon the obligations of ancient treaties. It was not intended by her to enforce the establishment of the Portuguese constitution against the will of the people ; but to prevent any thing being done by others to hinder this constitution from being carried into effect. The convention of 1834, the quadruple treaty between France, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, was alleged to be founded not only on the preceding considerations, but on the disadvantages which the movements of Don Carlos of Spain, in conjunction with Don Miguel of Portugal, occasioned to both the governments of the Peninsula, and to compel these princes to withdraw from the Portuguese dominions.

Jurisdiction over the controversy between Belgium and Holland was assumed in consequence of the application of the king of the Netherlands to the British government, requesting that plenipotentiaries of the five powers might assemble in congress to effect a conciliation between the two portions of his kingdom. The armistice, which was at once proposed by the conference, was accepted by the king of the Netherlands and by the provisional government of Belgium. There was, however, great dissatisfaction on both sides, as to the subsequent proceedings of the congress, — the king of the Netherlands denying their right to dismember his kingdom, while the Belgians insisted that they were not bound by treaties contracted by the Netherlands, to which they were not a party. A treaty was made, in 1831, between Belgium and the five powers, and France and Great Britain united to compel the king of the Netherlands to evacuate the territory ; and by a treaty between Belgium and Holland, in 1837, the arrangements of the five powers were finally carried into effect. Mr. Wheaton closes with the following remarks his notice of the discussions at this conference of London : “ Thus was terminated this long and tedious negotiation, which, in the course of its progress, alternately assumed the character of a mediation, of a forcible arbitration, or of an armed interference, according to the varying events of the struggle, and the fluctuating views of the powers who were interested in terminating it.”

Nor has the principle of intervention been confined to the relations between the different powers of Christendom. In 1828, it was applied by France, Great Britain, and Russia to the Greek revolution, and was carried out by the battle of Navarino, and the occupation of the Morea by the French troops, when the independence of Greece was recognized by the Ottoman Porte, under the mediation of the three contracting powers. In 1833, the interposition of the Christian states of Europe in the affairs of Turkey assumed a new form, so that they became the guardians of the integrity of the Ottoman empire against one of its principal vassals. The Porte demanded the protection of Austria, Great Britain, and France against Mehemet Ali, and the forces of Russia were placed at the disposition of the sultan. A settlement was subsequently made with the pacha, under the mediation of England and France. This arrangement was followed by

the treaty of Unkiar Skellessi, which seemed to give to the relations of Russia with the Porte a new character, by introducing the armed intervention of the former into the internal affairs of Turkey. The *casus fœderis* having arisen from the attempts of the sultan to recover his lost provinces, and of the pacha to assert his independence, the Western powers of Europe determined to interfere to save the Ottoman empire from the aggressions of Mehemet Ali, on the one side, and from the exclusive protectorate of Russia, on the other. An arrangement was finally made, in 1840, between the Porte and all the great European powers, except France, for the pacification of the East.

Schemes have been at different times devised by philanthropists for the purpose of putting an end to all war, and in the work before us the plans of St. Pierre and Rousseau, of Bentham and Kant, for effecting this object, are given in detail. In some shape or other, they are all referable to the principle of arbitration, or of a general council of nations, which may serve as a great tribunal, whose jurisdiction all states are to acknowledge. This project cannot be deemed a wholly untried experiment. The limited history of the United States presents some cases of foreign arbitrament ; and assuredly the most important reference, that of the question respecting the Northeastern boundary to the king of the Netherlands, is not calculated to give us a favorable idea of the mode in which such friendly offices are performed. The Holy Alliance, when it parcelled out kingdoms at Vienna, sacrificing Poland to Russia, the greater part of Saxony to Prussia, and the ancient republics of Genoa and Venice to Sardinia and Austria ; and when it met at Troppau and Laybach, to sustain the rights of sovereigns against their subjects, was exercising, under the most solemn sanctions of religion, that general superintendence over the affairs of Europe, which the philanthropists propose to vest in a general council. If it be objected, that the declared views of these sovereigns, and the circumstances out of which the alliance grew, afford a peculiar explanation for their hostility to popular institutions, — what is to prevent, in any confederation of independent states, that result which we see in the Germanic confederation, where the great powers of Austria and Prussia not only possess a preponderance that virtually divests the other members of all participation

in the general business of the diet, but which has enabled them to interfere in the internal concerns of the several states for the maintenance of monarchical pretensions against popular rights, and to create and sustain, even by military force, a censorship of the press more severe than any individual sovereign has ever established within his own dominions ?

Nor are the annals of the present Germanic confederacy calculated to recommend to us another mode of settlement of national disputes, which has more than once been suggested to our government, — a reference to foreign jurists. This course was proposed by Mr. Jay, while secretary of state under the old Confederation, for the settlement of our Eastern line and the determination of the St. Croix ; and was likewise adverted to in the negotiations about the North-eastern boundary, which both preceded and followed the arbitration of the king of the Netherlands. But when we recollect, that the same Mr. Gentz, who, in 1812 and 1813, made the most eloquent appeals in favor of German liberty, was the very individual who drew up the protocol of the diet of 1832, virtually annihilating those constitutional guaranties which even the Congress of Vienna had deemed it necessary to provide for the people against their local sovereigns, one may well doubt the independence and impartiality, however elevated the intelligence, of any tribunal thus constituted, especially when the influence of a sovereign or a powerful state is brought to bear upon the rights of subjects, or on the pretensions of weak neighbours.

Great as have been the calamities of war, it may well be doubted whether they ought not to be encountered, in preference to a system which would divest every small state of the perfect independence which belongs to all sovereignities. In the ameliorations of every kind which mark the present age, we see many circumstances that tend to lessen the extent and frequency of national hostilities. The discovery of gunpowder, by the very magnitude of the destruction which it causes, and by the calculations of which it is susceptible in practice, greatly lessened the frequency of war. Steam, which has produced such wonderful effects in augmenting the products of human labor, will be found not without correspondent influence in belligerent affairs. Who can tell what a revolution the action of steamers is to cause in future maritime contests ? What influence is the power

of concentrating, by means of railroads, the whole population of a country on a given point, to have on future invasions ? Considerations of self-interest and the mutual dependence of nations have also taught them not rashly to interrupt that commerce which is equally important to all parties. In the universal dissemination of the principles of free intercourse we look for that abolition of war, which we should consider to be purchased at too great a sacrifice, if it were brought about by subjecting, through another Holy Alliance or European congress, all the minor states of the world to the arrogance of England or the despotism of Russia.

- ART. III. — 1. *The Jewish Chronicle*. Published under the Direction of the American Society for meliorating the Condition of the Jews. New York. 1843-44.
2. *A Course of Lectures on the Jews*. By Ministers of the Established Church in Glasgow. Philadelphia : Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1840. 12mo. pp. 499.
3. *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews, from the Church of Scotland, in 1839*. Eighth Thousand. Edinburgh. 1843. 12mo. pp. 555.
4. *Lecture on the Restoration of the Jews*. By M. M. NOAH. Delivered October 28th, 1844, in the Tabernacle, New York City.

A NEW and rapidly increasing interest in the affairs of the Jewish people has of late years pervaded Protestant Christendom. Among the Jews themselves, too, our day reveals new elements of life, struggling to break the stupor of centuries. Some strange changes are taking place, also, in the external condition of this people. In one country, we behold revived against them a persecuting popish inquisition ; in another, an imperial edict is even now sending them, by hundreds of thousands, into exile ; in a third, — a Protestant country, too, — the long established policy of excluding them from political privileges altogether has withstood a bold onset from the liberal spirit of the age, and triumphed.

Our own land has recently witnessed the singular spectacle of Jews dictating to a Christian people, how the children of that people should be educated ; and forbidding to teach, or even name, Jesus Christ in the public schools. Meanwhile, the Protestant church, especially in Great Britain, is putting forth fresh energies, in widely extended missionary enterprises, to win Israel to the acknowledgment of her Messiah, still looked for, though long since come, — perseveringly rejected, yet the object of her fondest hopes.

For the mere historian or ethnographer, for the philanthropist, for any man of reflection and sensibility, the history and present condition of the Jews offer points of extraordinary, even of unparalleled, attraction. Their history is a history, if not of miracles, at least of well authenticated wonders. Their sacred books, if not inspired, certainly far surpass all other compositions of the ages which produced them, in the verisimilitude of what, unless divinely communicated, must be fictitious ; in the purity and sublimity of their moral and theological conceptions ; in the correspondence of parts written at such widely separated periods, in divers countries, and by various men ; in the consistency of the whole with the subsequent progress of science and discovery ; and in their wonderful fitness, both intrinsically and by external evidence, to exert a mighty influence over the faith and practice of mankind. The sufferings of the Jews — whether the “wringing out of the dregs of a cup of trembling” from Jehovah, or not — have far exceeded all other experience, and the common measure of human endurance. Of continued distinct existence like theirs, in spite of a thousand efforts of self-styled Christians and of infidels, leagued together in the plenitude of earthly power to amalgamate Jew and Gentile, or to root the former out, no other example can be found, except in miniature in their own early history, when, under Egyptian taskmasters, “the more they were afflicted, the more they grew and multiplied.” For continuous ages, like the bush of Horeb, they “have burned with fire and have not been consumed.” Whether the writings, to which both Jews and Christians now point as prophecies yet to be fulfilled, can be trusted as a picture of coming times, or not, certainly no one tolerably acquainted with their religious lore, and associating with them in the common intercourse of life, can fail to catch something of

their spirit of anticipation, and to watch with interest and awe the further developments of the Jews' strange history.

But religious belief — the Jewish, even, and much more the Christian — heightens immeasurably the importance and the attractiveness of this wonderful theme. To the confiding student of the Bible, the Jews assume high dignity, and challenge earnest attention, as God's chosen, covenant people ; as the descendants of holy patriarchs, to whom Jehovah spake "face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend" ; as a nation long visibly led and governed, upheld, protected, and punished, by an almighty hand ; as a people whose ancient history, recorded by inspiration, expressly and clearly shows — what all uninspired annals leave to be faintly and uncertainly traced out by the dim light of human reason — the connection between every outward event and an unseen Providence ; as the special depositaries of divine communications intended for all times and every people ; as that race, "of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came," and who, although they rejected and crucified the Saviour of the world, are themselves rejected and outcast, "scattered among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other," "to be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse, in all places" of their sojourn ; as still beloved of God in his covenant faithfulness, and "for the fathers' sake" ; as still inheriting the prophetic benediction, "Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee" ; as yet to be "grafted again into their own olive-tree," the church of God ; and, as many believe, to be restored to that goodly land which was confirmed to them by oath before they were a nation ; which was taken from its original possessors to be given to them, when they were homeless pilgrims ; which is still theirs, twice exiled from it as they have been, — now for nearly eighteen hundred years, — and wonderfully kept from permanent occupation by any Gentile people ; — in a word, as the standing miracle of modern times, changing in themselves nature's most firmly established laws, without interfering with the harmony that everywhere else prevails in convincing contrast. Such are the Jews in the eye of Christian faith.

The first great fact which strikes the observer of this people, in their present state, is their dispersion throughout the world, while they are still a separate race, excepting

where, at the confines of their channel, they mingle enough with the surrounding waters to manifest that tendency to amalgamation, which characterizes all human kind, and in them is overborne only by some mysterious power opposing the diffusive force of the natural current. The narrative of their dispersion is necessarily involved at many points in great obscurity, which Jewish superstition and fondness for traditionary lore have served in no small degree to thicken. The agricultural life of the early Hebrews, as well as all the Mosaic institutions, opposed their mingling freely with other nations; but it is not unlikely, that, in the days of King Solomon, many of them settled in Egypt. He "made affinity with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter to wife." Long amity between the two nations succeeded this alliance; and Egypt became at length the resort of the Hebrews, for aid against their public enemies, and as an asylum from public and private dangers.

It is not necessary to give even a brief summary of the events recorded in Scripture, such as the Babylonish captivity, or of those narrated by profane historians, such as the conquests of Alexander the Great and the wars of his immediate successors, which tended to scatter many of the Jews among all the countries of the known world, even while the body of the nation still retained a distinct existence in Palestine. We can cast only a passing glance on the history of their dispersion since the commencement of the Christian era.

The government of the Idumean princes, beginning with that monster of cruelty, Herod the Great, was a fitting introduction to the drama which had its catastrophe in the utter destruction of Jerusalem and the final ruin of the nation. While the sword of persecution scattered abroad multitudes of Christian converts, who "went everywhere preaching the word," cruel tyranny and civil discord must have driven from Palestine many who were still Jews. When, at length, oppressed by Roman procurators, and denied the freedom of religious worship, the infuriated people rose in desperate revolt; when, beleaguered by a merciless foe, whose progress to her walls had been marked by scenes of carnage that added new horrors even to Roman warfare, the Holy City was convulsed by intestine factions; when rapine and butchery within the gates were the ordinary inter-

ludes of sanguinary conflict without ; when, under the name of " Saviours," desperate brigands held the city in possession ; — all who were free to go, except the deluded, the stupefied, the maddened, the plunderers, or such as delighted in scenes of violence and blood, must have fled far from the devoted precincts by every offered door of escape. Before Jerusalem was invested, multitudes, made prisoners in various parts of the Holy Land by Vespasian and Titus, were sold into slavery. Still greater numbers avoided captivity and the sword by flight. Upon the destruction of the city, seventy-seven thousand were driven away into degrading servitude, or sent to fight as gladiators in the different provinces of the empire. The fall of Jerusalem and the cruel fate of its inhabitants were a signal for the persecution and massacre of their countrymen in many Eastern cities. The Greeks and Syrians everywhere conspired against them, as a common enemy ; and within the next century, beginning with the reign of Trajan, these cruelties occasioned several revolts of the Jews, attended at times with great success against their enemies, but uniformly ending in overwhelming disaster to themselves. The accounts given of the numbers slain are almost incredible ; and the slave-marts of the empire were glutted with the wretched captives, — doubtless of little estimation in the market, so numerous were they, and so intractable to Gentile masters.

The eastern countries of Europe probably received their earliest Hebrew settlers as voluntary emigrants from Asia, before the subjugation of Judea by the Romans. At an equally early period, Western Europe may have received a few of the same character, through Africa and Spain, and by other routes. Some, no doubt, fled far to the West, both by sea and land, to find refuge from the horrors that thickened upon them in their own country and in many other parts of the East, after the time of the Roman invasion. But the captives known to have been transported to the occidental parts of the empire, and to Italy in particular, by Pompey, Vespasian, Titus, and Hadrian, were numerous enough to establish the race in all the West. It has been a common artifice with the Jewish historians, to date the settlement of their people in Christian countries at a very early period, — from the time even of Solomon or the Babylonish captivity, — in order to make it appear, that they had nothing to do with the

crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and so to escape odium and persecution. Thus, the Spanish rabbins, deprecating the intolerance of Ferdinand the Catholic and his clergy, asserted, that the Jews established a colony in Andalusia during Solomon's reign ; and that Spain became tributary to that monarch, and furnished the treasures with which he built the temple. Similar pretensions are made by the Jews in Germany and elsewhere ; and those of Worms actually obtained extraordinary privileges, under the pretence that their Sanhedrim wrote to the king of Judea, dissuading him from putting Christ to death. It is certain, that there were Jews in Treves and Cologne as early as the reign of Hadrian ; yet, during several succeeding centuries, their number in the whole of Germany, which was peopled by tribes still barbarous, was quite small. Mohammedan persecution in the East drove multitudes of them thence, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, who joined their countrymen in Germany, Hungary, and Poland, where they are now more numerous than in any other states of Europe. Before the middle of the fifth century, when they became established in considerable numbers in France, there had been but few in that kingdom. Not until a still later period were many found in Great Britain.

To America, North and South, they have emigrated with the other settlers from almost every country of Europe. The exact time at which the first arrived cannot be ascertained ; but within a very few years after the discovery of the New World, we find them in the Spanish colonies ; and, as early as 1605, an edict from France directed their expulsion from the French American settlements. In 1639, David Nasi, a Portuguese Jew, and a native of Brazil, obtained permission from the Dutch West India Company to form a Jewish colony in the island of Cayenne, with the assurance of full civil and religious liberty to the settlers. On the conquest of this island by the French, in 1664, Nasi and his followers retired to Surinam, then belonging to the English, under whose sway, and afterwards under that of Holland, they continued to enjoy every privilege, and soon became a numerous and flourishing community. The Jews were early settled in Jamaica, and there, under laws for the most part equal, though they were excluded from filling any post under government, they have increased and prospered.*

* Hannah Adams's *History of the Jews*, ch. xxxiv.

The first who settled in the United States are said to have been Spaniards and Portuguese, who fled from the inquisition to the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam. To South Carolina the Jews came long before the Revolution, being German, English, and Portuguese emigrants ; and they are now more numerous there than in any other Southern State. To Georgia a few came over in 1733, soon after General Oglethorpe. In Virginia we find them before the year 1780. The Jews of this country are as mixed a people as those among whom they dwell, and much less disposed than the latter to forget petty differences, real or imaginary, in family or caste, among themselves ; and therefore not so rapidly assuming a homogeneous aspect.

The present number of the Jews throughout the world has been variously stated ; and, in respect to most countries, there are no sufficient *data* for the estimate. The difficulty of the subject will be understood best from a few examples. The Jews of European Russia, exclusive of Poland, says Judge Noah,* are, as we learn from an accurate census, 200,000 in number. Mr. Moritz, a converted Jew, residing, as a missionary to his own people, at Dantzic, estimates them at 2,000,000. The Jews of Tunis were numbered not many years ago, in the Weimar "Geographical Ephemerides," at 130,000 ; subsequently, by Messrs. Nicolayson and Farman, who visited that country, at 60,000. Late Scottish missionaries to the Jews were informed by a rabbi at Galatz, a town of only 5,000 inhabitants in Moldavia, that his countrymen there numbered but 500, while the British consul thought there were 2,000 ; Some have estimated those in the United States at only 15,000 ; others, at 50,000 ; while the Weimar "Ephemerides" puts down only 5,700 for the whole Western continent. The migratory disposition of the Jews, produced by exile and persecution, may account for some, but not the greater part, of these discrepancies. In countries where the civil authorities do not make the census, conjectural estimates only can be obtained. And those most interested in the inquiry, the Jews themselves, seem often religiously opposed to "numbering the people" ; for which David was severely rebuked and punished. † The Rev. Isaac Leeser, "Pastor

* See his Letter, dated June 18th, 1844.

† 2 Samuel, xxiv.

of the Hebrew Portuguese Congregation of Philadelphia," in an article on "The Jews and their Religion,"* has given, we suppose, the best information respecting his people in that city, which he possesses; yet he only tells us, that "there are now three congregations in Philadelphia, numbering from 1,500 to 1,800 souls."

At several periods of their history, the Jews have greatly decreased in numbers; but for the last few centuries, comparative exemption from persecution has favored their increase, which has always been promoted by a creed enjoining marriage, and early marriage, as a religious duty. Different estimates of their present aggregate number have varied from about three to fifteen millions. From six or seven millions, however, the most trustworthy estimates do not greatly differ. "Of the two and a half tribes, Judah and Benjamin, and half Manasseh, I compute the number in every part of the world," says Judge Noah, "as exceeding six millions. Of the missing nine and a half tribes,† part of which are in Turkey, China, Hindostan, Persia, and on this continent,‡ it is impossible to ascertain the numerical force."§

No estimate can be formed of the number of Jews residing in Roman Catholic countries, particularly in Spain and Portugal, who conceal their religion under a Christian garb; probably, there are several hundred thousand of them. The

* Rupp's *History of Religious Denominations in the United States*.

† Commonly denominated the "Ten Tribes."

‡ Judge Noah believes the American Indians to be of Israelitish descent.

§ The following particulars — among which those known to be substantially accurate are in italics — probably come as near to the truth as it is possible to approach it. Conjecture must be used in respect even to some of the states of Europe; and the estimate becomes more and more uncertain as we pass into Asia and Africa.

United States, 35,000; AMERICA, 75,000. Russia and Russian Poland, 1,700,000; Sweden, 1,250; Prussia, 194,588; Denmark, 6,000; Germany, 145,000; Holland and Belgium, 80,000; Great Britain and Ireland, 30,000; Austria, 453,524; Switzerland, 2,000; France, 80,000; Turkey (in Europe), 325,000; Italy, 200,000; Gibraltar, 2,000; Portugal, 1,000; Ionian Isles, 8,000; EUROPE, 3,228,362. Palestine, 12,000; ASIA, 3,000,000. AFRICA, 500,000. Total, 6,803,362.

The Jewish population of different cities is nearly as follows: New York, 12,000; Philadelphia, 2,500; Baltimore, 1,800; Charleston, 1,500; London, 20,000; Amsterdam, 25,000; Hamburg, 9,000; Berlin, 5,000; Cracow, 20,000; Warsaw, 30,000; Rome, 6,000; Leghorn, 10,000; Constantinople, 80,000; Smyrna, 9,000; Jerusalem, 6000; Hebron, 800; Tiberias, 1,000; Saphet, 1,800.

numbers given for Asia and Africa certainly fall short of the truth. They are powerful in Persia and the countries upon the Indian ocean, in China, and on the borders of Tartary. Black Jews are found in Abyssinia, Ethiopia, and Hindostan. They have a congregation in Calcutta, and are quite numerous on the coast of Malabar ; where they speak of brethren residing in Northern India, Tartary, and China.

The external condition of the Jews, since the destruction of their city and temple and their final dispersion, could not be more strikingly depicted than it is, in a few words, in their own Scriptures. "The Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other." "I will deliver them to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth for their hurt, and to be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse, in all places whither I shall drive them." "Among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest ; but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind ; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee ; and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life."* At no period of their dispersion has their general political condition been more prosperous than it is now ; but to regard them as an emancipated people, we must shut our eyes upon all but a few of the smallest portions of the race. In Mohammedan and pagan countries, the advance of civilization, comparatively small in itself, has wrought still less change for centuries in the situation of the Jews. State policy, or the native energy of an indomitable race, has sometimes raised them in such countries to places of outward respect, of influence and official power ; and, for the most part, they are suffered to live nominally free, and to pursue the ordinary avocations of life.

Since the last conquest of Constantinople, Turkish policy has inclined to tolerate the Jews ; and the consequence has been a great increase of their numbers in that city. They are often bankers for the grandees, and custom, acquiring the force of law, has established them as collectors of the customs and purveyors for the seraglio. Their taxes are not greater than those paid by other races in a similar condition. "The Jews," says Judge Noah, "are at this day the most influen-

* Deuteronomy xxviii. 64, 65, 66 ; Jeremiah xxiv. 9.

tial persons connected with the commerce and monetary affairs of Turkey, and enjoy important privileges ; but hitherto they have had no protecting influence." Where all rights are precarious, the privileges of the Jews especially have been the sport of despotic power. Mussulmen and idolaters alike, from the cradle, are almost universally taught to regard the Israelites as the vilest of mankind, or as a link between man and brute, — accursed of Heaven, and the lawful sport or prey of any one who has the small share of hardness required to mock them, or to exact their property or service. They are the common objects of popular malice and superstition, and, whenever money may probably be extorted, of persecution and rapacity under the garb of office. Throughout the East, *Jew* is a name of reproach far viler than *Christian dog*. Dr. Wolff writes in his Journal, "We pitched our tents at Arass. A dervis flogged his ass, and called him *Yehudi* (Jew)." In Turkey, politeness requires a passing apology, whenever, in conversation, certain unclean animals are mentioned ; as, "I beg pardon, a *swine*" ; and so a Turk will sometimes say, "I beg pardon, a *Jew*." In some countries, the Jews are required to wear a prescribed badge, which is a blue slipper in Constantinople, and a black one in the empire of Morocco. Lieutenant Conolly, an English military man, who visited the holy city of Meshed in 1830, says, "The Jews may not pass the pale of the sanctuary, neither may they put foot within the college squares in which good men are buried ; on their clothes, however new, they must wear a patch at the breast ; their caps must not be of the same form as those worn by true believers ; and they dare not return abuse, much less a blow, given by a Mahometan, so that even children of the faithful race throw stones and dirt at them in the streets, unchecked by their parents, who think it a very meritorious act to worry the soul of a Jew." It was only in 1816, that the king of Sardinia allowed the Jews in his dominions to throw aside the badges formerly worn by them.

The Moors seem to consider the Jews born to serve them and bear their wanton insults. The Moorish boys torment the Jewish children for pastime ; and the men, with impunity, maltreat the male adults, and take the grossest liberties with the females. In 1804, many of them were subjected to horrible tortures in Algiers, merely because

they had unsuspectingly lent money to certain political conspirators ; and they were not released till they had paid an exorbitant ransom. In 1827, the Dey extorted from a rich Jew, by throwing him on some pretence into prison, 500,000 Spanish dollars. But the French occupation of Algiers has greatly improved the condition of this people in that country ; and, in consequence, their numbers have increased by immigration. At Tripoli, some years ago, they were heavily mulcted for a drought ascribed to them. In Persia their condition is no better. Frequently, when they are assembled in their synagogue, a soldier from the Shah enters with an order for money, which must forthwith be paid. They are often compelled to work as slaves without remuneration ; and their women are unceremoniously taken from them, without their daring to murmur. Mr. Wolff was told by a Mohammedan in Mesopotamia, " Every house in Shiraz with a low, narrow entrance is a Jew's. Every coat much torn and mended is a Jew's. Every man with a dirty camel's-hair turban is a Jew. Every one picking up broken glass, and asking for old shoes and sandals, is a Jew " ; and he afterwards found this description fully confirmed.

In Syria, the Jews are in a state of real servitude, and no change of masters has bettered their condition. Mohammedans and Christians alike hate and maltreat them ; and this hatred is heartily returned, as the latter find, whenever any circumstance gives their enemies a temporary advantage. When the Turkish succeeded the Egyptian troops in Damascus, a few years ago, they were stirred up by the Jews to persecute the Christians of every sect. When the Greeks rose against the Turks in 1822, the Jews eagerly joined against the Christians, especially in Constantinople ; while the Greeks, in revenge, murdered all the Jews on whom they could lay their hands. The Turks throughout Syria may compel the Jews to work without pay, and administer the bastinado if they refuse. The lowest fellaah will stop a Jew whom he meets travelling, and demand money, as a Mussulman's right ; and such extortion the same individual sometimes suffers several times a day. At Saphet, in 1834, many Jewish dwellings were plundered, and great cruelties inflicted to extort money. Indeed, throughout the East, the Jews are obliged to affect poverty, in order to conceal their wealth ; what is exposed to view is never safe from

Mohammedan rapacity. Though the great majority of those in Palestine are poor and dependent, some may be found there in comfortable circumstances, or even rich ; but their wealth appears to those only who gain their intimacy. Dr. Richardson, an English traveller, says, " In going to visit a respectable Jew in the Holy City, it is a common thing to pass to his house over a ruined foreground, and up an awkward outside stair, constructed of rough, unpolished stones, that totter under the foot ; but it improves as you ascend, and at the top has a respectable appearance, as it ends in an agreeable platform in front of the house. On entering the house itself, it is found to be clean and well furnished ; the sofas are covered with Persian carpets, and the people seem happy to see you." The synagogues in Jerusalem are, from prudential motives, both small and mean. A Jew dares not set foot within the Holy Sepulchre. When, in 1832, the Egyptian troops occupied Palestine, the Jews did not find their condition in the least improved. The common soldier made the best Jew sweep the streets, or perform any menial office.

The accounts received four years ago, of grievous cruelties practised upon the Jews at Damascus and Rhodes, though they excited, especially in Great Britain, unusual sympathy, exhibited instances of suffering by no means extraordinary. In 1823, all the Jews of Damascus, suspected of the crime of having wealth, were thrown into prison, and redeemed their lives only by an enormous payment. In February, 1840, Father Thomaso, a priest, who practised medicine, disappeared, as well as his servant. Certain Turks and Greeks affirmed, that both had been seen in the Jewish quarter the evening before. A Jewish barber was at once seized, carried before the Pacha, and examined under the most dreadful tortures. For a while he protested utter ignorance ; but at length, in the extremity of his suffering, at the suggestion of some Greeks standing by, he denounced the seven wealthiest men in the city ; declaring, that they had promised him eight hundred piastres, if he would sacrifice the priest, so that they might have his blood for the unleavened bread ; which he had refused to do. The Pacha, in a great rage, sent for the seven Jews, and subjected them, notwithstanding their protestations of innocence, to the bastinado and other extreme cruelties, keeping them

on their feet fifty hours, without food or sleep. He then sent for the three chief rabbins, and put them to the torture, requiring them to say if they used blood for the paschal bread. Of course, they denied the charge. The Pacha then sent to the college of children, put all the inmates in prison, loaded them with chains, forbade their parents to visit them, and fed them on a small allowance of bread and water, in hopes of thus extorting from the parents a confession. A Jew who ventured to expostulate with the Pacha, and to represent the absurdity of such an accusation and such proceedings, was at once beaten to death. The Pacha then caused the houses of the accused to be razed to their foundations ; and finding no trace of the two persons who had disappeared, he threw the prisoners into a sewer beneath the palace. No longer able to endure such torments, they admitted the truth of the charge. One of them said the blood had been put into a bottle and committed to another of their number ; this one, however, denied all knowledge of it, until a thousand strokes with rods compelled him to say he had put the bottle into a certain closet. Of course, it could not be found ; but in the closet was a large sum of gold, which the Jew had vainly hoped would save him. Meantime, an astrologer declared he had discovered by his art, that the accused were the murderers of the priest, and five others, whom he named, of the servant. Three of the latter fled before they could be apprehended. Some of the others embraced Islamism and were released. The French consul at Damascus was accused of being one of the chief instigators of these persecutions ; but other representatives of different European powers interfered, and the Jews of London sent a commission to remonstrate with the Sultan. Mehemet Ali soon issued orders forbidding further persecution until the matter could be fairly investigated ; and when released from the fear of torture, those who had confessed retracted their admission, the barber declaring that they had threatened to torture him to death unless he confessed, and had promised him safety if he would denounce the murderers.

In the island of Rhodes, about the same time, the Christians accused the Jews of sacrificing a child ten years old. Here, again, certain European consuls were said to have been the instigators. Witnesses were found to affirm, that a Greek child had been seen following a Jew on the public

highway. The Jew was arrested, thrown into chains, and bastinadoed ; his nostrils were pierced with iron, heated stones placed on his head, and a heavy weight on his heart. His persecutors endeavoured to induce him to denounce the chief rabbi ; and, at last, he accused several Jews, though not the rabbi. As many of these as could be found were seized, and subjected to similar tortures, under which seven persons suffered until almost deprived of life. The accused, or some of them, were afterwards taken to Constantinople for trial, and their innocence fully established ; and the Jewish commission from London, with others who interested themselves for the persecuted people, succeeded in obtaining a firman, dated Nov. 6th, 1840, putting an end to these cruelties both in Damascus and the island of Rhodes, and declaring that the Jews should be protected, and should enjoy the same rights as other nations dependent on the Porte.

These accumulated statements of cruelties practised upon the Jews, especially in Mohammedan countries, if taken by themselves, would undoubtedly give an exaggerated idea of their sufferings. It must be recollected, that vast numbers of them are too poor in reality, and many others too poor in appearance, to tempt cupidity ; that their oppressors treat them with some degree of leniency, as they do the brutes subjected to their service, from motives of self-interest ; that the rulers often protect them from the malice of the people, in order that their own revenues may not suffer ; that the natural feelings of humanity, quite extinct in no human breast, unnerve the arm of persecution ; and that the necessary influence and ready artifices of a race preëminently shrewd and intelligent save them from many imminent perils.

The darkest pages of history are those which exhibit Christianity, so called, as a persecuting religion. Before the epoch of the Reformation, bigotry, clothed with ecclesiastical power, was generally leagued with political tyranny and popular malice to oppress and destroy the Jews. To attempt to convert them to the Christian faith without violence was considered by most Roman Catholics as a wholly chimerical scheme, and the undoubted fact of their rejection by God, even more than the dreaded anathemas of the Church, seemed to place them beyond the pale of human sympathies.

Better prospects than at any period of their dispersion brightened before them with the dawn of the Reformation. The principles of that mighty change extended to all the interests of humanity, temporal as well as eternal; and planted the seeds both of religious and political regeneration. The hearts of the Reformers were moved with compassion towards the ancient people of God; and they advocated milder plans than those which had usually been adopted, to bring them over to the Christian faith. They discountenanced and condemned the system of wholesale plunder, from which, under the garb of zeal for the Catholic church, princes and prelates had for ages drawn a bloody revenue. But a period of lethargy among Christians in regard both to the civil and religious state of this people—a period of returning gloom—soon succeeded; and the French Revolution, itself one of the mighty effects of a reformation which necessarily emancipated human error and passion, at the same time with truth and reason, brought the first blessings of permanent civil freedom to any of the Jews of Europe. Previously, however, in this country, where, indeed, there were but few of that nation to enjoy the boon, the Constitution of the federal government had extended its equal rights to all but the colored race, without distinction of Jew or Gentile, Christian or infidel; and still earlier, the same principles had prevailed in the policy of most of the individual States. The constitutions of Massachusetts,* Maryland,† and North Carolina‡ did, indeed, require belief in the Christian religion as a qualification for public office; but they left open to Jew as well as Christian every other field of competition and enterprise. Even the first Hebrew settlers under the Dutch government of New Amsterdam were allowed to acquire a right in the soil; and they were not deprived of this privilege, when the English succeeded to power. There is no country in the world, where the Jews, with political equality entire, as for the most part it is, enjoy so much freedom from popular prejudice, suspicion, and annoyance, and all the ordinary trials of their exile, as in the United States.

But we return to Europe. In the year 1780, the Emperor Joseph, sometimes called, on account of his liberal views and singular zeal for reformation, the “harbinger of the

* Chap. VI., Art. 1.

† Sect. 55.

‡ Sect. 32.

French Revolution," as soon as he attained full dominion over the hereditary possessions of the House of Austria, relieved the Jews within his territory from many of their burdens. The infidel philosophers and politicians of that age at first opposed their emancipation, because of the Jews' testimony for the truth ; but as free principles advanced, or rather, when they had degenerated into a licentiousness that aimed at levelling all distinctions, such malice yielded to the policy of the day, and successive relaxations of the French laws, in 1784 and 1788, were followed, in 1790 and 1791, by a decree of the National Assembly, in answer to memorials from the Jews, granting them the full rights of citizenship. Five years later, a similar enactment was made in Holland.

The performance of Racine's tragedy of "Esther" is said to have excited Napoleon's sympathy for the Jews ; and he intended at once to improve their condition, and win them to his own interests. In 1806, their usurious practices led to complaint, and serious question, whether their rights, under the decree of 1791, should not be withdrawn. Whereupon, the emperor convened at Paris an assembly of the principal French Jews, to whom he proposed questions respecting their opinions and practices, with measures for establishing their brethren throughout the kingdom in honest and useful professions. The questions were answered, for the most part, to the satisfaction of the emperor ; and he called a grand sanhedrim of seventy-one members, to convert the doctrinal explanations of the first assembly into authoritative decrees ; hoping that the Jews out of the kingdom, also, would send representatives, and thus Paris would be made the centre of a powerful influence to unite and control the Jews throughout the world. The sanhedrim assembled at Paris in 1807, — a truly venerable body. A few foreign deputies attended ; but its authority has never been recognized out of France, nor by all in that country ; where, however, it seems to have been productive of benefit, in turning many Jews from dishonest and sordid to respectable and useful employments. Indeed, the decrees of this assembly contained a submissive renunciation of many firm Judaic principles. They declared, that France was the only "fatherland" of the French Jews, that intermarriage with Christians was lawful, and that no trades were prohibited.

Nothing further was done for the Jews until 1831, when, to carry out the article of the charter of 1830, giving *equal protection* to all religious sects, under which Protestantism, as well as Roman Catholicism, had already been *established*, the French Chambers voted to support Judaism also ; and, in May last, a royal ordinance gave a complete organization to the Jews throughout the kingdom, dividing them, like the Protestants, into consistories, and making the consistory of Paris a central, superior assembly, regulating all the rest. They have, too, a sort of synod, composed of deputies from the whole kingdom ; for which the Protestants have in vain asked during the last forty years. At the head of the grand consistory is the chief rabbi, a "sort of pope of the French Jews." They received the ordinance of May with great pleasure, and addressed a letter of thanks to the minister of justice and worship.

The emancipation of the Jews of Holland, in 1796, has been already noticed. Amsterdam contains nearly one third of the whole number of Dutch Jews. In some other parts of Europe, they have, within half a century, obtained equal rights, or an enlargement of their immunities. The German sovereigns have generally admitted them to almost every civil privilege ; the most important exceptions are the authorities of Lubeck, Bremen, and particularly Frankfort. Hamburg has very lately freed itself from further reproach, by a resolution of the burgesses, permitting the Jews, before restricted to a specified locality, to purchase real estate and reside in any part of the town or territory. The policy of Prussia — where, however, they cannot hold any public office — has been especially liberal towards them ; and in that kingdom, during eighteen years, ending with 1840, the Jews increased thirty-four and three sevenths *per cent.* ; the Christian population not quite twenty-eight *per cent.* ; the increase of each by immigration being about the same. In France, and in several other European states, where disabilities have been removed and privileges enlarged, the Jews have, at the same time, been brought under regulations not always so agreeable to them as was the ordinance of Louis Philippe. Thus, they have been subjected to military duty, in common with other citizens ; while, in some countries, the civil power has so far interfered with the synagogue worship as to secure order and decorum, to insure the proper qualification of the

rabbins, and even to compel the use of a liturgy in the vernacular tongue. Such regulations, the Jews in Bavaria and Würtemberg resisted, but were compelled at length to submit, their synagogues being closed until they yielded. In Prussia, they are compelled, if sufficiently numerous and wealthy in any district, to maintain schools of their own according to the general system ; otherwise, to send their children to the Christian schools.

Strange to say, in England the Jews still suffer under grievous civil disabilities. In 1290, Edward the First banished all in his kingdom, and seized on their property. The exclusion was so rigid and complete, that no traces of them in that country occur again till the period of the Commonwealth. Cromwell made an unsuccessful movement in their behalf ; and in his time they began to return in small numbers. In the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, some privileges were granted them ; which, however, were withdrawn after the Revolution of 1688. In 1753, a bill was passed in parliament, not without virulent opposition, permitting Jews, who had been residents of Great Britain or Ireland three years, to be naturalized ; but so odious did the law prove to the nation at large, that the ministry who had encouraged the enactment shrunk from its support, and it was repealed at the very next session. From the pulpit generally, by the mercantile corporations, and by a bigoted populace, it was vehemently opposed. Dean Tucker, who, almost alone among the clergy, wrote decidedly in favor of the naturalization of the Jews, was very roughly treated, and, by the people of Bristol, burnt in effigy in full canonicals, with his obnoxious writings. In May, 1830, on the back of the Roman Catholic emancipation act, another effort was made in parliament to emancipate the Jews ; but it was opposed by the ministry, and failed. In short, the decree of Edward the First has never been formally abrogated ; and though several acts of parliament have recognized, and thus legalized, their presence in the kingdom, England, with all her boasting of Roman Catholic and negro emancipation, still treats native-born Jews as foreigners, admitting them to few privileges but those of alien residents and traders. To a single inch of the soil they cannot obtain a title.

We have seen it stated, within a short time, that the coun-

cil of state of Geneva lately refused a petition of the Jews for the free exercise of their worship. In this country, we have little conception of the feelings entertained towards them by the populace of most European states. Many prejudices and superstitions, which we regard as follies of the Dark Ages, there often seem still deeply rooted. In 1818, they were expelled from Meiningen, in consequence of a persecuting spirit extending much beyond that duchy. "The desire of insulting the Jews," said a London paper, "seems as if it was spread all over Germany. Beginning at Würzburg, it has extended not only to Bamberg and Frankfort, but also to Darmstadt, Mentz, and Prague, where the Jews are very numerous. The watchword is 'Hep! Hep!' (derived from the initial letters of *Hierosolyma est perdita*, — Jerusalem is lost) first raised by the German crusaders, in 1097," — who, it will be remembered, stained their good name by a murderous assault upon the Jews. In 1830, the populace rose, both at Hamburg and Breslau, shouting, "Down with the Jews!" and many of the rioters fell before they could be subdued. Four years later, a boy being found murdered near Neuenhafen, the Jews were accused of having killed him, in order to use his blood for the paschal bread; a neighbouring synagogue with all its furniture was destroyed, and many Jews suffered severely from personal violence. The Jews of Baden were threatened with a popular persecution not many years ago, because one of them had slain a Christian antagonist in a duel. In Poland, they are said to be grievously maltreated by the Christians. In many German towns, great jealousy prevails against them among the mercantile classes; and the members of the trades-unions refuse to work or associate with them. Throughout Hanover, and in Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, Frankfort, and even in Amsterdam, this spirit is said to prevail. The senate of Lubeck passed an act, in 1818, forbidding Christians to transact business with Jews, or to live with them as servants or clerks, on penalty of fine and imprisonment.

In Russia, and in some parts of Germany, they are subjected to many petty and vexatious exactions. The present emperor, Nicholas, on his accession to the throne, banished them from St. Petersburg, where they are not now permitted to sojourn more than a week without renewed pass-

ports. The Jews in Russian Poland have lately been subjected to military service ; and to the soldier's oath the government has added, for Israelitish recruits, the following clause : " I swear to be faithful to my standard, and never desert it, even should the Messiah come upon earth." About two years ago, an imperial ukase commanded all the Russian Polish Jews to remove fifty versts — about thirty-three miles — from the frontier, within a limited time ; under which order, it is said, 500,000 must leave their homes. The revocation of this decree, announced in the newspapers, seems not to have been obtained, though strong efforts were made for it. A still later act of the Russian council of state, approved by the autocrat, orders that no synagogue or Jewish school shall henceforth be erected within six hundred feet of any Russian Greek church.

The Sardinian laws respecting the Jews, though tolerating their presence in the kingdom, are very stringent. When the king, in 1816, dispensed with the Jewish badge, he deprived them, at the same time, of the power to hold real estate, ordering what they had to be sold within five years. Little better off are they in several other Italian states. The inquisition at Ancona, by an edict of June 24th, 1843, revived against them, within its jurisdiction, previous decrees, forbidding them to employ Christian domestics ; to sleep out of their *Ghetto*,* or induce Christians to sleep within it ; to visit familiarly Christian houses ; or to hold any permanent or funded property, — what they had being required to be sold, *bonâ fide*, within three months. In the States of the Church, they pay a heavy tribute for the degree of toleration enjoyed. Mr. Whyte, one of the Glasgow ministers whose lectures are mentioned at the head of this article, thus describes, from personal observation, in 1834, the ceremony, still annually repeated, with which the Jews of Rome are required to petition for another year's sufferance.

" The palace where we assembled, a part of which is the foundation of the ancient Roman treasury, stands on the Capitol, the most celebrated of the seven hills of the Eternal City. At one end of its most spacious hall there sat enthroned the senator of Rome, the highest civil magistrate. Before him kneeled four venerable rabbis, dressed in the attire of their highest and holiest festivals ; there seemed to settle down upon their expressive

* The *Ghetto* is the quarter assigned exclusively to the Jews.

countenances the melancholy of felt humiliation, mingling with conscious dignity, while the oldest of them read, on bended knees, a petition couched in the humblest terms, and pleading that the Jews might be allowed to remain another year in Rome. Rising with the pride of delegated authority, and with a look of tyranny, the senator read a letter from the pope, in which he condescended to prolong the stay of God's ancient people for another year in Rome, provided their conduct should be submissive and orderly, and on condition that they should pay a certain sum as tribute money. Before leaving the posture of suppliants, the venerable four presented each a bunch of flowers to the senator, — I suppose in token of their gratitude, and as a pledge that the tribute would be forthcoming. That very day the sum was paid, and the week after it was expended on the races of the Carnival; where it is difficult to say whether cruelty or folly predominates. During the Middle Ages, the pope used, on the occasion above alluded to, to place his foot upon the necks of the rabbis; but although this revolting ceremony has fled before the light of the nineteenth century, still the Jews are confined within a walled inclosure, in the filthiest part of the city, on the banks of the Tiber; sentinels are stationed at the two gates, and none of them must be seen upon the streets after ten o'clock at night, and before a certain hour in the morning." — pp. 194, 195.

Mr. Ridley H. Herschell, a converted Jew of London, where he now edits the "*Voice of Israel*," adds to the particulars given by Mr. Whyte, the fact, that the annual tribute is, by compulsion, paid on the Jewish Sabbath, a day which the Jews consider profaned by the receipt or payment of money; that it is presented in the form of a promissory note in a bouquet of flowers, which may explain part of the former description; and that, when he witnessed the ceremonial, the payment was "followed by a contemptuous command to 'Begone,' " on which he heard severe comments among the Roman Catholic spectators. He also mentions, that the Jews of Rome are obliged, at each Carnival, to compound, by another payment, "for the obligation to find so many Jews to run a race in the Corso."

In Tuscany, as also throughout the portion of Italy belonging to Austria, the Jews experience much better treatment. Those of Leghorn are said to have the largest fortunes in the country, and the finest synagogue in Europe, excepting that of the Portuguese congregation at Amsterdam. They have also several schools, and a good library;

and form a distinct community, the immediate governors of which are forty elders of their own.

Ferdinand and Isabella, after vanquishing the Moors, commanded all the Jews of Spain either to embrace Christianity, or to leave the kingdom within four months. Eight hundred thousand, according to the Spanish accounts, — according to the Jews, a million, — preferred exile, and suffered inconceivably in their emigration. Some of them took refuge in Portugal, whence, however, with all other Jews, they were soon expelled. Hundreds of thousands in both countries submitted to baptism in preference to exile; but in secret they still practised the rites of Judaism; some carrying dissimulation so far as even to take orders in the Roman Catholic church, and to become judges of the Inquisition, which, it is well known, was originally established in Spain about this time, principally to deal with relapsing Jews and Moors, who had preferred an outward profession of Christianity to banishment, and who were called “New Christians.” In Spain, the Jews have never since been openly tolerated. To Portugal they were readmitted by John the Sixth about the year 1817, because some Jews had imported large cargoes of corn during a scarcity; and, at the request of the pope, they were allowed the same privileges that were accorded to them in the Roman States. Previously, in that kingdom, the name of Jew was so odious, that a law was passed, giving impunity to any one so called, who should slay the offender on the spot; and there, as well as in Spain, the descendants of the “New Christians,” who still are Jews at heart, maintain the deception; though in Portugal, where some degree of liberty of conscience has for a few years been enjoyed, these will probably, it is said, soon return to the synagogue. Most of the avowed Jews in that country, at present, are recent immigrants. No longer ago than 1827, a person was put to death in Spain for the heresy of Judaism. The dissemblers there, to make the deception complete, often affect unusual Christian zeal. If a Spanish dwelling superabounds with religious ornaments and utensils, there is good reason for believing the family to be dissembling Jews.

Very ancient laws of Norway prohibited an Israelite's entering that country without a royal permit; and this prohibition was made a part of the constitution of 1814, when

Norway, though remaining under a separate government, had been united to Sweden. In 1839, it was proposed in the *Storthing* (the legislature, or parliament) to annul this fundamental law; and, as the constitution requires, the matter was referred to the *Storthing* of 1842. The latter, by a committee, investigated the subject; false representations of the state of the Jews in Holland were entirely contradicted by strong testimonies in their favor from the Dutch ministers of state, the president of the council of Amsterdam, and General Chassé; the theological faculty, the courts of law, and many of the merchants approved of the change; but the chambers of commerce generally opposed it; and though the committee, with only one dissenting voice, reported in its favor, but fifty-one members out of ninety-two voted for it, — not the requisite majority of two thirds. Some, however, who voted against it, have since felt compelled to publish a statement, that they are not opposed to the admission of the Jews, but considered the bill useless, because it did not provide for liberty of worship; and that they intended to introduce at the next session another bill more complete.

The rank and power which many European Jews have acquired by their learning, or more frequently by their wealth, have been at times an important safeguard to their poor, despised countrymen. None can estimate the influence, in this respect, of the Rothschilds, who, a few years ago, were five in number, with houses at London, Frankfurt, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin; guiding the commercial, and sometimes almost the political, destinies of Europe; “holding in their hands the purse-strings of the civilized world.” One of the brothers was presented to the pope in 1838; and his brethren in Rome profited by his presence to obtain permission to work at their trades. The pope not only granted this request, but also distributed alms among the poor Jews. Sir Moses Montefiori, a princely Israelite of London, was one of the deputation to the Turkish Sultan to obtain relief for the persecuted Jews of Damascus and Rhodes, and was the chief agent in procuring the firman already mentioned. He profited by this occasion to visit Palestine, and manifested a lively interest in the condition of his brethren in that land. A Jewish banker of Antwerp, M. Cohen, has lately received a knighthood of the order of Isabella from Spain!

The Jews have nowhere preserved faithful genealogical records, but almost always have abundant traditions of their descent, which, of course, are unworthy of credit. Yet supposing that the twelve tribes are now generally amalgamated, some portions of the mass, taken separately, must be less mixed than others. There are, no doubt, among them, though the distinction cannot certainly be traced, not a few pure descendants of some tribes; and none were so likely to keep themselves distinct as the tribe of Judah, claiming, as they did, preëminence. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews have always asserted a superiority in this respect; some said, that they were of the united tribes of Judah and Benjamin, including the Levites; others, that they were of pure descent from Judah; and others, still more arrogantly, that they were of David's royal line. Since they probably came from Judea about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, they may undoubtedly be considered among the purest representatives of the two tribes. The German and Polish Jews, who were reinforced from the East, in the tenth century and subsequently, are of more heterogeneous elements. The latter are denominated Ashkenazim, from Ashkenaz, grandson of Japhet;* the former, Sephardim, from Sepharad,† a name which the modern Jews have given to Spain. These are found interspersed with each other in most parts of the world; but in general, it may be said, that the Sephardim belong to the different countries, European, Asiatic, and African, upon the Mediterranean sea. Thus, the forefathers of most of the present native Jews in Constantinople and Palestine came, as exiles, from Spain and Portugal, at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. They have everywhere separate synagogues, and refuse intermarriage with the Ashkenazim. If any of their number marries one of the inferior race, excommunication immediately follows. Early in the present century, the daughter of a Portuguese Jewish physician, at Berlin, married a German Jew, and her family went into mourning for her, as for one dead. In this country, the same distinctions and pretensions are found, gradually wearing away, however, under the combined influences of Jewish neology and American democracy. "The Hebrew Portuguese Congregation" of Phila-

* Genesis, x. 3.

† Obadiah, 20.

delphia has already been mentioned in another connection ; this title itself indicates the still existing distinction. The Sephardim are generally more polished than the Ashkenazim ; and in Europe, for the most part, are superior to them also in moral and religious principle. Along the shores of the Mediterranean, they have a dialect of their own, originally Spanish, but now modified by Hebrew words, phrases, and idioms, and called Judæo-Spanish. The Jews of Russia and Poland are represented as the worst to be found in any country ; some would make them out to be little better than hordes of robbers ; this, however, is an exaggeration. Bad as they may be, it is believed they are superior in morals to their Gentile neighbours : “ He lives like a Christian,” is with them an accusation of the grossest immorality.

As the Jews were anciently divided into several religious sects, — the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenes, — so we find them distinguished at the present day. Their chief modern denominations, some of which represent the more ancient, are the Caraites, the Zabathaites, the Chasidim, the Rabbinists, or Talmudists, and the Reformed Jews. The Samaritans* are not to be classed among them, though akin to them in many respects. The main point of difference between most of these sects, though not the only one, respects the Talmud. The *Talmud* — a word that means *doctrine* — is a voluminous work of two parts, — the *Mishna*, that is the *second law*, and the *Gemara*, or *completion*. The former, consisting of a divine interpretation of the written law, say the Talmudists, was given to Moses at the same time with that delivered on Mount Sinai, together with rules for its exegesis, all to be orally handed down ; and by him it was made known to the whole people, and specially committed to his successors. These traditions were collected in the *Mishna*, a work ascribed to Judah Hannasi, — the Holy, as he is usually called, — about the middle of the second cen-

* Mixed descendants of a remnant of the ten tribes left in their own land, and of the Assyrians colonized among them. 2 Kings, xvii. 24, &c. In Christ's time they had a temple on Mount Gerizim, which they held more sacred than Mount Zion and its temple. They receive only the Pentateuch, and perhaps the Books of Joshua and Judges, which are found among them ; but confidently wait for the Messiah, and observe the Mosaic laws more strictly than even the Jews. Wolff found fifty families of them at the foot of Gerizim, and they have also been met with in other parts of Palestine and in Egypt.

ture. Many glosses upon this text soon accumulated, which the Rabbi Jochanan, about the year 230, threw together in the form of a perpetual commentary upon it, entitled the Gemara; and this, with the Mishna, is called the Jerusalem Talmud; though sometimes the Mishna, and sometimes the Gemara alone, is, by synecdoche, called the Talmud. About a century later, Ashi and Abhina, distinguished Babylonian rabbins, compiled a much larger collection of opinions, which, with the Mishna, is styled the Babylonian Talmud, a work held in much higher esteem than the other, and generally understood when the "Talmud, without further specification, is mentioned. It has commonly been published in twelve large folios. The other is comprised in a single folio. The Talmud has been justly described as "containing things frivolous and superstitious, impieties and blasphemies, absurdities and fables." As an example of all these in one, — God is represented as having contracted impurity by the burial of Moses, and as washing in fire to cleanse himself. These traditions, many of them the same by which, in Christ's time, the Jews "made the commandment of God of none effect," since then, in accumulated instances, have been used to destroy the force of the Old Testament Scriptures; which, indeed, Rabbinists consider of very little importance.

The Caraites are a most interesting, though a very small division of the Jews, said to number in all only about thirty thousand. They are found in isolated companies in several parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, despised and hated by the great body of their nation. Unlike the other Jews, they have had fixed settlements, in undisturbed possession, as far back as they are known to authentic history.

"One party of them," says Mr. Whyte, "has reposed some hundreds of years on the margin of a beautiful lake in Lithuania; for many centuries has another nestled in felt security on the mountain-rock of the Crimea; while a third is said to have inhabited the desert of Hit, near the site of Babylon, from the time of Cyrus. The picturesque fortress of the Caraites in the Crimea, called the Jews' Castle, has been beautifully described by the celebrated traveller, Dr. Clarke, who tells us, that, in a sepulchral grove on the mountain side, there stands a tombstone, bearing a Hebrew inscription, the date of which reaches back more than six hundred years." — p. 197.

Besides these, they have small companies in Persia, and at Damascus, Constantinople, and Cairo ; and the missionary Wolff reports, that he met with a few at Jerusalem. They relate, that their ancestors, during the Babylonish captivity, were forced to make a stand for the paramount authority of the Scriptures, against an influx of new doctrines ; that they did not return to the Holy Land, but continued in the places of their exile ; whence, however, those portions of them now found in Europe and Africa must have emigrated. There is much in their condition and character to corroborate this account ; which is consistent with a statement made by those in Russia to the Empress Catharine, — that their ancestors had taken no part in the crucifixion of Jesus ; whose divine mission nevertheless they deny, looking still, with the other Jews, for the Messiah's advent. They are distinguished for their pure morality, especially for their veracity, an uncommon virtue in the East ; and instead of being a by-word and a reproach, they are said to be everywhere respected and well treated by their Gentile neighbours, as an industrious and hospitable race. They reject the Talmud altogether, adhering strictly to the Scriptures, and hence are called *Caraites*, that is *Textualists*, *Scripturists*, or *Readers* ; and they have given themselves the appellation of "Children of the Bible." Their Judaism is far purer than that of the Rabbinites, and not affected by the infidelity which prevails among more modern rejecters of the Talmud. They have sometimes been represented as Sadducees, of which sect, however, they exhibit no peculiarity, save the rejection of tradition. The Sadducees have made little figure since the destruction of Jerusalem. As a sect they can hardly be said to exist ; though travellers sometimes speak of meeting a few of them ; and though infidelity in some respects like theirs has always existed, and in modern times has become exceedingly rife, among the Jews.

The common expectation of a Messiah has given a wide scope for enthusiasm and fanaticism. About the year 1666, when the whole nation were looking for some remarkable event, there appeared in the East one of the most notable of the many, who, in different ages, have claimed to be Messiahs. Banished from Aleppo, his birth-place, and subsequently from Salonichi, this man, Zabathai Tzevi, travelled much, and then took up his residence at Smyrna. Great multitudes

followed him ; and when, to save his life, he professed the Mohammedan faith, though without renouncing his pretensions to the Messiahship, many imitated his example. His followers, denominated Zabathaites, are still found at Salonichi, outwardly professing Islamism, but Jews at heart, — a separate community, all living in the same quarter of the city, and mingling with the Turks only at the mosques and in business. He had many adherents in Poland, Holland, England, and other parts of Europe, some of whose descendants are said still to revere his memory ; and would, perhaps, agree with a class of Jews, which the chief rabbi of Cairo told Dr. Wolff was numerous, and who, without being avowed followers of Tzevi, declare, when embarrassed by passages of Scripture which speak of a suffering Messiah, that they think Tzevi may have been he. Tzevi and some of his followers pretended to work miracles, and to have visions and prophetic raptures.

In 1750, a Polish Jew named Frank, or Frenk, formed a new congregation in Podolia, sometimes called that of the Zoharites, after the much earlier admirers of the celebrated mystical book Zohar ; and these are improperly regarded by some persons as followers of Tzevi. These Frankists, as they are also denominated, were undoubtedly tainted with mysticism ; but their chief distinction seems to have been the rejection of the Talmud, which brought upon them the persecuting hate of the Rabbinites. Their faith, indeed, approximated to Christianity, which many of them embraced. They were once numerous, and are still found in Hungary and Poland.

The sect called at the present day *Chasidim*, the *Holy*, or *Pious*, who are not to be confounded with a party bearing the same name in the time of the Maccabees, date from about the year 1760 ; when, at Miedzyvorsz in the Ukraine, a rabbi named Israel, taking the surname of Baalshem, “possessor of the name of God,” by means of outward sanctity, and the pretended power of exorcism and working miracles, gained great multitudes of adherents. He obtained ten thousand followers within ten years, and before his death, which took place five years afterwards, forty thousand. The doctrines of the Chasidim are said to be of most pernicious tendency, promising the faithful absolution from the vilest enormities, and supernatural protection from the hostility

of all earthly powers ; and the sect has been reproached for every species of immorality and crime. Probably, however, these accounts are exaggerated ; and the Chasidim have doubtless improved since the age of their founder. Though they receive the traditions, they are at enmity with all other Jews ; and are especially bigoted in their hatred of Christianity. Their number seems to have been increasing ever since Baalshem's day, and now to be very large. Dr. Jost, a Jew opposed to them, declares, nevertheless, that their religion is at present that of nine tenths of all the Jews in Galicia, South Hungary, Wallachia, and West and South Russia ; and of great numbers in Bohemia, Moravia, Moldavia, and Poland. Their worship is marked by many extravagances ; they have been called "Jewish Jumpers." Working themselves into ecstasies, they laugh hysterically, clap their hands, and leap with frantic zeal about the synagogue, turning their faces and raising their clenched fists towards heaven, as if daring the Almighty to refuse their requests.

Rabbinism is the Catholic faith, from which all these sects are, in modern phrase, dissenters. It is the lineal descendant of Pharisaism, and distinguished by its blind adherence to the Talmud. The estimation in which strict Rabbins hold this book is unbounded. "He that has learned the Scripture, and not the Mishna," says the Gemara, "is a blockhead." Isaac, a distinguished rabbi, says, "Do not imagine that the written law is the foundation of our religion, which is really founded on the oral law." The Rabbinical doctrine is, "The Bible is like water, the Mishna like wine, and the Gemara like spiced wine." Some even say, that "to study the Bible is but a waste of time." For strict Rabbinism, a melancholy compound of superstition and fanaticism, we must look to Poland, Russia, Hungary, and Palestine, of which we speak, in describing the system. In those countries, the Rabbins, or Talmudists, discountenance as profane all other study than that of the Bible and Talmud, but are very careful to educate their sons in their religious lore. The Talmud forbids teaching females more than their appropriate domestic arts. "Whoever instructs his daughter in the Bible is as if he instructed her in abominations." But it is a disgrace, if boys are not taught to read the Hebrew Bible. The rich pro-

vide teachers for their own children, and either permit the poorer to share this provision, or aid them in obtaining masters. So honorable is the office of teacher made, that a bare support is enough generally to secure a competent one. The ordinary method of instruction is very simple. The child, when four years old, is taught the Hebrew letters, and then to pronounce words, the meaning of which he afterwards learns from his tutor ; and thus proceeds, without grammar or dictionary, until he can translate the Pentateuch with tolerable ease. Then he begins at Genesis to study exegetically, surrendering his mind, however, entirely to the guidance of some Jewish commentator ; and, from first to last, never forming an independent judgment, but implicitly following tradition, and of course never detecting its gross perversions of the Bible. Some stop short of this commentary, with which others conclude their education ; while others still, whose parents can afford it, especially if they display quickness in study and fondness for it, pass on to the Talmud, — first the Mishna, then the Gemara, each with its rabbinical commentaries. As an evidence of the ardor sometimes manifested in these studies, and of complete devotion to them, we are told, that a traveller, some years ago, met three young educated rabbins, who “were born and lived to manhood in the middle of Poland, and yet knew not one word of its language.” A Jewish youth, distinguished for proficiency in Talmudical learning, is anxiously sought in marriage for the daughters of wealthy parents ; who look not only at the certain honor of such an alliance, but also at the chance, thus increased, of the Messiah’s coming in their line. On the other hand, the Talmud designates by the name of “people of the land,” equivalent to *peasantry*, those educated in the Bible alone, or not at all ; and represents them as an inferior class, fit only for servile labor, with whom others may not intermarry ; applying Deut. xxvii. 21, — “Cursed be he that lieth with any manner of beast.” Indeed, the Talmud authorizes every species of oppression towards such, giving them the hope of heaven only if they submit. The Jewish “peasant” is a servant of servants, ground down by those who have learned, by being oppressed, the art of oppression. In Russia and Poland, where the Jews collect the government taxes among themselves, the rabbins make the peasantry pay nearly the whole. This class, too, where the

Jews regulate the conscription, must furnish all the soldiers required.

Some other characteristics of the strict Rabbinites may be briefly noticed. They are the lowest of the Jews in point of morals, and this is sufficiently accounted for by the gross immorality of many Talmudical precepts. On the great yearly *Day of Atonement*, complete absolution from all past sins is pronounced, and from all religious vows, bonds, and oaths taken since the last preceding, and until the next, atonement. This latter absolution, contained in a prayer denominated *col nidre*, being supposed by Christians to extend to all oaths and obligations, civil as well as religious, which the Jews deny, has caused them much trouble in some parts of Europe. The Talmud teaches, moreover, that no respect is due to a Gentile's, or an unlearned Jew's, rights of property; and it accumulates other abominable doctrines, too numerous, and some of them too vile, to mention. Indeed, the modern Rabbinical Jews are generally, in practice, superior to the precepts of the Talmud. They believe in a purgatory, and pray for the souls of the dead; they hold that all Hebrews will rise in the Holy Land, those dying elsewhere rolling painfully under ground until they reach that soil; and that "all Israel hath part in eternal life." The dead buried in the Holy Land are expected to be the first to rise in the Messiah's day; and so strong has been the desire of burial there, that in the seventeenth century large quantities of Jewish bones were yearly sent thither to be interred. Ship-loads of this melancholy freight might often be seen at Joppa. They believe that a council properly constituted is infallible, and practically, by their implicit confidence in the Talmud, they make the ancient rabbins their "fathers." They place a high estimate on the merits of good works, especially those of a ceremonial kind. Thus, though the reading of the Bible is considered hardly a good act, and even as a positive waste of time, the act of taking out the Pentateuch from its depository in the synagogue, and the duty of standing on the left side of the reader, and of closing and removing the roll after service, are considered highly meritorious, and the privilege of performing them is often sold to the highest bidder. A pilgrimage to the Holy Land, much more to pass one's life there, is a superlative merit. They place great confidence in the supererogatory merits of their ancient saints, especially

of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for the males, and of Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, for females. They have daily morning and evening prayer in the synagogue ; and all the prayers for public and private devotion are prescribed, and in Hebrew ; for the Talmud affirms, that the angels who receive them understand no other language. Women, servants, and children under twelve years of age, are not required to observe the hours of prayer. The Jews of the Holy Land are, perhaps, singular in praying to saints, and honoring and even worshipping relics. They never approach the supposed stones of the temple, some of which are much worn by kissing, without removing their shoes. Every spot where a saint is supposed to be buried is a place of prayer and pilgrimage. The Talmudists do not allow women to attend the synagogue, until they are married ; and then, in Poland, Russia, and the East, they occupy a separate apartment.

Public worship among the Talmudical Jews is, for the most part, where the civil power has not interfered, very irreverent and disorderly. A missionary at Beyroot saw comfits thrown among the people in the synagogue, when particular portions of the service were read, *to show the sweetness of the law !* and the audience — some of the adults, and all the boys — tumbling over one another in the scramble for them on the floor. The Talmud declares, that, in observing the feast of Purim, “ Every man must get so drunk, that he cannot distinguish between the phrases, *Blessed be Mordecai, and Cursed be Haman.*” While the Talmud imposes many burdensome ceremonies in addition to the Mosaic institutions, it also furnishes multiplied expedients for lightening the latter ; and a fertile ingenuity, newly exercised for each emergency, or perpetuated in legendary rules, has extended the dispensation to every desirable point. Stephens, in his travels in the Holy Land, lodged with a Jew, who would not suffer a lamp, lighted the day before, to be extinguished on the Sabbath ; but “ described an admirable contrivance he had invented for reconciling appetite with duty ; — an oven, heated the night before to such a degree, that the process of cooking was continued during the night, and the dishes were ready when wanted on the Sabbath.” Yet even the Talmudical Jews are generally superior in morals to their Christian neighbours, especially in the point of female purity. No wonder they hate the New Testament, reading it only

through the profligate and intolerant conduct of their persecutors.

Hospitality and alms-giving to their brethren are sacred duties among all the Jews. A large majority of those in Palestine are paupers, and, for their support, contributions, averaging fourteen thousand dollars a year, are made in different parts of Europe, deposited at Amsterdam, and thence transmitted to Beyroot. Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Saphet are holy cities in Jewish esteem, and in all the Italian synagogues money-boxes are kept, marked, "For Jerusalem," "For Saphet," &c. The largest collections are in Amsterdam. Leghorn sends about four thousand dollars. But the poor unlearned Jews of Palestine are greatly oppressed by the rabbins, and generally defrauded, wholly or in part, of their share in these charities. When the Hebrew quarter at Smyrna was destroyed by fire, in 1841, Mr. Rothschild, of Vienna, gave 20,000 francs for the sufferers. He and his brothers have lately offered 100,000 francs for founding a Jewish hospital at Jerusalem. Sir Moses Montefiori, during his late visit to Palestine, contributed munificently to the wants of his poor brethren there.

We might confidently look for reformers under such a system as Rabbinitism ; and, even without the name of reformation, for wide departures from the Talmud, either towards the "old paths," or to infidelity. The man who in modern times exerted the most commanding influence on Judaism was Moses Mendelssohn. He was born at Dessau, in 1729, was carefully educated in the Bible and Talmud, but was thrown upon Hebrew charity in Berlin, at the age of thirteen. Following the bent of his own genius, and stimulated by various associations, he left the dreary paths of tradition, to pursue the intricate but flowery ways of Gentile philosophy. He even improved the German language, in which he wrote with great taste. The influence of his works and his example was soon manifest. An enthusiasm for German literature and science was awakened among the Jewish people, when they beheld their kinsman ranking with the first scholars of the age. "Parents wished to see their children like Mendelssohn. Rashi and Kimchi, the Shulchan, Aruch, and Josaphoth, were laid on the shelf. Schiller and Wieland, Wolff and Kant, were the favorite books of the holy nation." Mendelssohn was very strict in Tal-

judical observances, and did not in his works directly oppose them ; yet he certainly intended to undermine Rabbiniism, and covertly labored to obliterate superstitions and prejudices, and to render his religion consistent with free intercourse between Jew and Gentile, and with the palpable benefits of modern progress in letters and refinement in manners. After all, he was probably at best but a deist ; and he certainly lacked that directness, candor, and earnestness of purpose, which true-hearted reformers have usually manifested. Christians must deny to Judaism that vitality which is essential to its maintenance upon the true basis even of a pure pre-Messianic creed. As a system, though not indeed strictly in each individual, it must ever oscillate between Rabbiniism, or the like, and rationalism, — finding no stable, middle, spiritual ground.

Mendelssohn died in 1786 ; but others arose to carry out his innovations. A Jewish literary and philosophical society was formed at Königsberg, in 1783, which supported the first Jewish periodical ever published, — a journal devoted to the cause of reform. The “new light” rapidly spread ; and now Mendelssohnism, in different varieties, inclined more or less to the Talmud, or to infidelity, is the religion of a great majority of the Jews in all Europe west of Poland, into which country itself, especially Austrian Poland, the revolution has in some degree extended. The “Jews of the New Temple,” or “Rational” or “Reformed Jews,” as they are called, where their numbers have not secured peaceable ascendancy, have generally seceded from the Talmudists ; who, on their own part, where the so-called reformation has made good progress, adhere to the Talmud scarcely even in name.

The creed of the new sect has never appeared in an authoritative shape, but may be gathered from their writings and practices. The believers in it agree, that the Jews are no longer a chosen people, in the sense hitherto commonly received. They reject the Talmud, professing to receive the Hebrew Scriptures as the true basis of religious belief, and as a divine revelation ; though after explaining away their inspiration, and the miracles recorded in them, on rationalistic principles. Regarding the Mosaic institutions as never abrogated, they consider, however, that most of their requirements are applicable only to a state of national estab-

lishment in Palestine ; and therefore hold, that, until the unknown period of the Messiah's advent, and Israel's restoration, such laws only are to be observed as are necessary to preserve the essence of religion, or useful to form pious ecclesiastical communities, and which do not interfere with Gentile governments, with any of the existing relations of life, or with intellectual culture. The synagogue service has been remodelled ; and the modern languages have been generally substituted for the Hebrew. A weekly lecture has taken the place of the semi-annual sermons of the Rabbins. Contrary to the precept of the Talmud, instrumental music is introduced into public worship. " The question of organ or no organ," says a late journal devoted to the Jews, " divides Judaism on both sides of the Atlantic."

Before long, the latitudinarian views of the leaders in this movement clearly discovered themselves ; and there was a temporary reaction in favor of Rabbinism, to which the more devout among their converts receded. Yet the new system has signally prevailed and flourished. It is in France, perhaps, that the Jews have thrown off most completely the trammels of Judaism, — indeed, of all religion. They now style themselves *French Israelites*, or *Israelitish Frenchmen*, according to the doctrine of Napoleon's Sanhedrim ; and seem anxious to amalgamate themselves more and more with the nation at large. Most of their leaders are infidels, undisguisedly aiming to obliterate all the common notions about a Messiah, as utterly superstitious ; referring the prophecies of his advent — which they still nominally treat as prophecies — to the political emancipation of the Jews in the various lands of their sojourn. " The Regeneration," a journal published at Paris by some of their most learned and influential men, has represented the French Revolution as the coming of the Messiah, bringing, first, judgment, then, liberty and peace. The grand rabbi of Metz, a few years ago, in addressing the Jews of his district, spoke thus :—

" God has permitted different religions, according to the different necessities of men, in the same way as he has created different plants, different animals, and men of different characters, genius, constitutions, physiognomies, and colors. Consequently, all religions are salutary for those who are born in these religions ; consequently, we must respect all religions. All men, without distinction of religion, will be partakers of eternal beatitude, provided they have practised virtue in this life."

On the 12th of June last, a voluntary Jewish synod met at Brunswick, composed of twenty-five eminent rabbins, from various parts of the continent. It was the first of a proposed succession of annual synods, to deliberate on Jewish affairs. They sat eight days, passed various resolutions proposing important changes, and declared their concurrence in all the decisions of Napoleon's Sanhedrim. The Jews of England, though visibly influenced by residence in so enlightened a kingdom, were all nominally Rabbinitists, until, within the last four or five years, a reforming party seceded in London; whence their principles and denomination — "British Jews" — have since gradually spread. Even among those who remained, great difference of opinion prevails as to Talmudical observances. Both there and in this country, the Portuguese Jews seem most active in the work of revolution. The tide of Jewish emigration to the United States is rapidly swelling; and as it comes from many lands, it exhibits a variety of hue. But the voluntary emigrant is ever and characteristically a lover of change; and here the Talmud has little sway, and that rapidly declining. Mr. Leeser represents the Bible alone as the basis of the Jewish faith; and in the whole article already referred to, does not so much as mention the Talmud. He edits, at Philadelphia, "The Occident and American Jewish Advocate," the first Jewish periodical established in this country. Soon after its establishment, "The Israelite," a weekly German paper, devoted to the same cause, and also published in Philadelphia, was announced; whether this still survives, we know not. Mr. Leeser expects a literal Messiah, — not God, or a son of God, but a mere man, eminently endowed, like Moses, to accomplish all that is foretold of him. He protests against some of the decisions of the late Brunswick synod, particularly the one reaffirming the *dictum* of the French Sanhedrim, that Jews might intermarry with Gentiles. He has long had in his congregation a Sabbath school, or a school for religious instruction, held, not on the seventh day, but on the Christian Sabbath, which Christian observance makes necessarily a day of convenient leisure for the purpose.

Among the stricter Jews, all over the world, the expectation of Messiah's advent is becoming more and more anxious. They not unfrequently talk, though without serious purpose, of embracing Christianity, should he not appear

within a certain time. Migration to the Holy Land is visibly increasing. Multitudes from all parts of the world would hasten thither, could they become possessors of the dear soil, and enjoy reasonable protection. Mr. Noah proposes, that Christian societies and governments interested in the welfare of the Jews should exert their influence to procure these advantages for them in their native land of promise. The suggestion deserves notice.

Of modern efforts for the conversion of Israel to Christianity we can speak but briefly. The chief extraordinary obstacles which have hitherto opposed such efforts have been, a bigotry which treated the bare thought of investigating Christianity as a heinous sin, and which was ever prepared to stifle free inquiry by persecution ; the character of Talmudical education, which disqualified the pupil for independent judgment ; and accumulated prejudices against a religion too often exemplified only by profligate persecutors. But all these obstacles are gradually sinking away ; nor does growing infidelity appear so formidable as the superstition and fanaticism which have given place to it. Moreover, the spirit of inquiry, and the dissensions kindled by the progress of the revolution which Mendelssohn commenced, are favorable to Christian effort. We shall speak only of what Protestants have done.

“There occurs still,” says Mr. Whyte, “the annual exhibition of a Jew baptized at Rome ; which ceremony I was privileged lately to witness. It took place in one of the most splendid churches, called St. John Lateran ; the office was performed by a bishop ; the convert put off the Jewish profession only for a time, and that, too, for a bribe ; and, as I was informed by a Roman Catholic on the spot, the same individual had been known to come forward year after year, and to have been baptized several times.” — p. 238.

The first systematic efforts, on right principles, for the conversion of the Jews, after the Reformation, began with the establishment of the Callenberg Institute, at Halle, in 1728. This institution owed its origin to the pious zeal of Dr. Francke, and his pupil, Dr. Callenberg, though the former died before its formation. The Moravians seconded this enterprise, and of themselves, also, about the same time, sent missionaries to the Jews. The celebrated Schultze, who travelled much over Europe, Asia, and Africa, was

sent out by the Callenberg Institute ; which also published parts of the New Testament, and various tracts, in Hebrew and Arabic. It flourished about sixty years ; then declined with the declining piety of its supporters, and soon came to an end. In 1809, there was established at London "The Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews" ; and since, several auxiliary and independent associations have been formed for the same purpose in other parts of Great Britain. On the continent, similar societies exist at Basle, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Berlin, Posen, and Breslau. The London institution is connected with the church of England. Its receipts for the year ending May, 1844, were £ 24,325. It employs seventy missionaries — thirty-six of them converted Jews — at twenty-seven stations in Great Britain, and in various parts of continental Europe and the East ; and it maintains in London a Hebrew college, two schools, and, as a place of employment and instruction for converts, the "Jewish Converts' Operative Institution" ; also, eight schools in the duchy of Posen. The missionaries of this society have made many converts ; three hundred and seventy-five baptisms are recorded in the London Jews' chapel, a good proportion of them being of adult proselytes. Their most interesting field of labor is the Holy Land ; they have stations at Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Saphet. In November, 1841, the Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander, a converted Jew, was consecrated "Bishop of the united Church of England and Ireland to reside at Jerusalem," with jurisdiction over Palestine, and, for the present, over the rest of Syria, with Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia. He entered his diocese in January, 1842. This appointment had been proposed by the king of Prussia, by a special ambassador to Queen Victoria, and a particular communication to the archbishop of Canterbury, with a view not only to the conversion of the Jews, but to the spiritual benefit of his own subjects in Palestine ; and he subscribed £ 15,000, as half of the endowment of the new see, the annual stipend of which is fixed at £ 1,200. The London society added £ 3,000. The bishop is to be nominated alternately by the crowns of England and Prussia ; the archbishop of Canterbury, however, who is the metropolitan, having an absolute veto on the Prussian nomination. Before the bishop's arrival, there had been an

Episcopal chapel erected on Mount Zion. He laid the corner-stone of a new church in February, 1842, but great opposition has been made to its completion. Last year, however, a firman authorizing it was obtained from the Porte by the British ambassador.

In 1838, the General Assembly of the church of Scotland projected a mission to the Jews, and sent abroad four ministers on a tour of inquiry. They set out in April, 1839, and were absent about seven months; in which time they traversed parts of France, Italy, Malta, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Wallachia, Moldavia, Hungary, Poland, and Prussia. The "Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry" is a highly interesting record of their travels. Since their return, missions have been established at Pesth, in Hungary, Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, Damascus, and Constantinople. Upon the disruption of the Scottish church, all the missionaries which she had sent out adhered to the seceding body, or the free church; with which the Irish Presbyterian church and the English Presbyterian synod have since zealously coöperated in their efforts for the Jews. At Pesth, especially, they have met with success perhaps unparalleled in the history of modern Jewish missions. At Jassy, too, where the prospect for a while seemed dark, a remarkable movement in favor of Christianity has commenced.

Dr. Tholuck has said, that more real converts have been made from Judaism within the last quarter of a century than altogether previously, since the primitive ages of the Church. In Berlin alone, there are reported to be one thousand converted Israelites; and twenty-two hundred have embraced Christianity in the Prussian dominions within eighteen years. Many of the most eminent scholars and professors in Europe are converted Jews. Nearly half a score of them occupy chairs in the University of Berlin, and among them are the celebrated Neander and Benary. Five are professors and two are lecturers in the University of Breslau; five are professors in that of Halle; and after we have named, in addition, Wehl, Arabic professor at Heidelberg, and Dr. Stahl, of Erlangen, an uncounted number still remain in Germany alone.

But one foreign missionary to the Jews belongs to this country, — Mr. Schauffler, sent to Constantinople by the American Board of Missions, in 1831, to be supported by a

"Ladies' Jews' Society," of Boston. "The American Society for meliorating the Condition of the Jews," by which "The Jewish Chronicle," at first a newspaper, now a magazine, is published monthly, was incorporated by the legislature of New York, in 1821, though it had previously existed for about five years, under another name, as "The American Society for evangelizing the Jews." In 1827, they purchased a farm at New Paltz, Ulster county, in that State, as an asylum for converted Jewish emigrants from Europe; but they accomplished little, and sold the farm in 1835, and languished until 1841, when a new impulse was received. They now employ an active missionary in the city of New York, and a travelling agent; and they have invited Mr. John Neander, of Cassel, in Germany, to labor, under their direction, as a missionary among the Jews of this country. Several societies, auxiliary to this, have been formed in the United States, especially in New England; and in the summer of 1843, there was established, at Philadelphia, "The Pennsylvania Society for evangelizing the Jews," for missionary operations in that State. American evangelists in foreign lands are often able to devote some effort to the sons of Israel, who are found everywhere. Yet it must be confessed, that the church of this country has done little, far too little, for this most interesting and important object. But even the unprecedented multiplication of late, here as well as in Great Britain, of popular works respecting the Jews, manifests, what is otherwise also clearly indicated, the dawn of a brighter day for the exiled daughter of Zion.

ART. IV. — *An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies; being a Comprehensive View of its Origin, derived from the State Papers contained in the Public Offices of Great Britain.* By GEORGE CHALMERS. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 2 vols. 8vo.

To write a good history or a good biography is no easy thing. He who undertakes to give an account of the transactions of the past has need of physical, moral, and mental

qualities which are seldom found combined. He should love hard study, and be able to endure it. Calmness and patience should never forsake him. He should know that nothing is to be taken on trust, and should contentedly devote days and even weeks to verify an incident that can be stated in a single line. He should sift testimony as thoroughly and weigh it as accurately as the judge upon the bench, and should know no sect in religion, and no party in politics. Since, in almost every political event of moment, he will find that some good men have been given over to obloquy and shame, and that some bad men have been elevated to distinction, he should not hesitate to declare the truth, and the whole of it, in relation to both. To popular opinion, whether past or present, he should not listen ; since to correct that opinion, whenever wrong, is an important part of his duty.

We have often heard the remark made by intelligent persons, that a man may be an eminent historian without possessing either genius or originality. We do not think so. To recast and work over again the thoughts, opinions, and reasoning of other authors is not to write history. The annalist, like the poet, is not made, but is born with an aptitude for his particular department. Thus, no one will deny to Scott great intellectual or great creative power ; but his admirers will never rest his fame on his "Life of Napoleon." Nor will any one hesitate to accord to our own Marshall reasoning faculties of the highest order ; yet few would cite the first volume of the first edition of his "Life of Washington," as the best work on our Colonial annals.

The book before us was written by an able, honest, labor-loving, but strongly prejudiced, loyalist. George Chalmers, we venture to say, was never so happy as when delving among state papers. He had official concern with those of England for nearly half a century, and he used them for the composition of several valuable works upon British and American history. He wrote from the best sources of information, and his productions are entitled to consideration and respect. His "Political Annals of the United Colonies" is esteemed, and has been quoted and relied upon as good authority almost universally. His "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots" shows the ardor and zeal which he could bring to bear upon a favorite object. It is the plea of an advocate, to prove from official documents, that this unfor-

tunate daughter of the Stuarts was innocent of the murder of her second husband ; and most manfully and earnestly did he perform the task.

The "Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies" was meant to serve a particular end, and implicit faith, therefore, is not due to the author's statements. His general fidelity we do not dispute ; but his antipathies were strong, and they sometimes led him to unfair conclusions. He disliked the principles of the people of New England, and seldom mentions them without showing his prejudices. He liked the Virginians, takes pains to extenuate their faults, and attributes their final defection to the ever-present, ever-mischievous influence of "the levellers" of the North. He lived in Maryland in the early part of his life, and he remembers that Colony in kindness, and speaks of it often in terms of affectionate interest. He sees designs to throw off the yoke of colonial vassalage in the common and every-day disputes of parties formed for temporary purposes, and in the struggles, constantly taking place among a people who were already free, to carry out special measures, or to obtain place and power. He expresses his opinions frankly and fully, and, we doubt not, with entire sincerity. His views upon the question of independence are certainly wrong, as applied to the Middle and Southern Colonies ; and, as regards those of the North, in the absence of recorded proof by the New England people themselves, there will ever be a difference of belief in respect to the facts and circumstances relating to this point, that are furnished by their documentary history and by other evidence. Mr. Sparks has examined the subject with his usual care and ability, and has arrived at the conclusion, that separation from the mother country was not desired by any of the Colonies while hope of redress remained. Such is the opinion of American authorities very generally ; but it is known, that some who have devoted themselves to the inquiry have arrived at opposite conclusions.

Chalmers often laments and severely rebukes the inattention, weakness, and ignorance which prevailed in the councils of England with regard to her American Colonies ; and few who administered her affairs during the period of which he treats escape his censure. On many occasions, when British subjects of all classes at home were alarmed at the

origin or progress of some particular branch of Colonial industry, or appealed to the government to protect them from the effects of transatlantic skill or enterprise, he complains, that the ministers, who should have been most active, remained passive spectators of the wrong which it was their duty to correct. He complains, also, because such frequent concessions were made to the Colonists, in matters which touched their civil rights rather than their pursuits, and because there was no settled system for their general government. Indeed, the leading principle or doctrine of the work seems to be, that the Colonies were allowed far too much freedom, and that their final independence was the natural result of continued and ill-advised indulgence. In other words, he thinks that carelessness and kindness, and not extreme watchfulness and undue severity, were the causes of their "revolt." In his view, the American subjects had but few grievances to redress at any time ; but having learned, at an early period of their history, that turbulence, clamor, and tumult were sure to obtain any object which they desired, they grew refractory just in proportion to their success, and to their increase in numbers and advance in wealth. To trust the wayward people of New England to their own guidance, to listen to their representations, to heed their hypocritical canting when molested, to allow their evil example to corrupt and alienate the other Colonists, was a remissness of duty, which he often mentions as having produced the most fatal consequences.

The policy, which prevailed in the time of George the Second, of appointing native governors, and that which originated in an earlier reign, of commissioning one person to be chief ruler of several Colonies, meet with his unqualified condemnation. In the collisions which occurred between the servants of the king and the popular assemblies, his sympathies are generally with the former ; and of the many disputes which he notices, he certainly admits but one in which the delegates of the people were "altogether right," and the royal representative "altogether wrong." He admires the skill and vigor evinced by the statesmen of France in governing her American possessions, and attributes her greater success in ruling them to the simpler form of her colonial government, and to the greater talents and more exact obedience which she required in the officers placed at

the head of affairs. In a word, energy and uniform firmness in executing the system, adopted in Europe, for administering the affairs and retaining the dependence of distant possessions would have insured to England and her Colonies a permanent and a happy connection with each other.

The style of Chalmers is concise and vigorous, but is deficient in simplicity, clearness, and finish. He designed to inform political men about political events, rather than to please and amuse the general reader ; and the meaning which he intended to convey respecting the origin and progress of Colonial disaffection is usually obvious ; but the sense of other passages is not always easily ascertained. He was fond of short and pithy expressions of opinion ; but what he thus meant for maxims are not always beautiful or sound.

Chalmers rests from his labors, and this fact alone would be sufficient to deter us from passing any severe criticism upon his work, devoted, as it principally is, to topics on which men may conscientiously differ, did it deserve such treatment at our hands, or were we disposed to undertake the task. But there are portions of it which we cannot suffer to pass without notice, and without expressing our earnest and pointed dissent from the opinions therein conveyed. These portions relate principally to New England, especially to Massachusetts ; and from the extracts we now proceed to make, our readers will perceive, we think, that common justice is done to neither.

“ New England was at length planted by accident, after several expensive efforts had failed. A few fanatics, who, tired of the European world, because it denied to them that toleration which they showed little inclination to allow to others, sailed for Virginia, but were driven by storm on the coast of New England. Here they determined to end a disastrous voyage, since the approach of winter, as well as their distresses, forbade further adventure. But sagacity soon discovered, that he who appears to be animated with the fervors of religion may at the same time be actuated by the most ardent ambition.” — Vol. I., pp. 26, 27.

We shall enter upon no defence of religious intolerance ; it is a stain upon the memory of all who have practised it. But history should be just, and we may therefore notice, once for all, the many unkind allusions of Chalmers to whatever of it existed among the founders of the Northern Colo-

nies. It may not have been right to establish Congregationalism in Massachusetts by law ; but it was quite as justifiable as the act of establishing Episcopacy by the same authority in his favorite Colony of Virginia. To refuse the exercise of civil rights to clergymen who had not received church-ordination was quite as inexcusable in the latter as to insist upon church-membership as a qualification for enjoying the same privileges was in the former. It was a great wrong for Puritans to banish Quakers and Baptists ; but it was equally wrong for Churchmen to banish Puritans. Calvert laid the foundations of religious freedom in Maryland broad and deep ; but of what faith were those who overturned the structure which that noble man had built, and who, alike regardless of charter and individual rights, declared that persons of his communion were beyond the pale of British protection ? When so many were guilty, it is dangerous to accuse one.

In this connection, we may also notice the frequent charge, that the religion and politics of these "fanatics" were inseparably connected. If they found comfort in the Bible, we rejoice at it ; for men so weary and sorrowing needed all the consolation which it could impart. If they held that those who followed them to their place of exile, and who assumed to direct all their movements, were bound by its precepts, and if they quoted these precepts in order to shield themselves from oppression, who shall rebuke them ? We might plead their cause after their own fashion, if custom and taste had not so changed, as to make those arguments appear puerile now, which seemed most cogent in their ears. When they read that "in *all* labor there is profit," and "he that laboreth laboreth *for himself*," they might well plead the authority of Scripture against their fellow-subjects who sought to restrain their pursuits and seize upon the rewards of their enterprise. The exclamation of Paul, "I was free-born," saved him from the scourge ; and the oft-repeated declarations of those who were "fanatically" attached to his teachings should have saved them from the infliction of the colonial system. They, like him, appealed to Cæsar ; and if his ear had not been poisoned, when they had forced their way to his throne, far less would have been written against either their religion or their politics. The historian, who says, that, in a

synod of New England churches, "Vane, the younger,* learned the arts of low intrigue, of mean dissimulation, which he not long after practised on a greater stage"; who speaks of "recitals of Scriptural jargon," of "pious arts," of "profound hypocrisy," as applicable to these churches, pastors, or people, is unfaithful to his duty, and careless of his fame. The Puritans were stern and severe, and so were most persons of their time; but distempered separatists in the beginning, or a community of canting, ambitious hypocrites afterwards, they were not.

In speaking farther of the settlers of Plymouth, he calls them "Brownists," and avers that their "unsociable religion, which cannot easily be described, promoted altercation and excluded emigrants." Annalists favorable to New England seldom fall into the error of saying, that the Puritans who fled from England to Holland, and thence embarked for America, were followers of Robert Brown. The principles of that sectary were quite different in many particulars from those embraced by the flock of Mr. Robinson; and finally Brown himself abandoned them, and returned to the bosom of the church from which he had seceded. The class of dissenters, known in the early period of separation as "Independents," is that to which the Pilgrim fathers distinctly belonged; and we regret, that, among the writers who have not preserved the distinction that relieves them from the odium of opinions and practices highly reprehensible, is Judge Marshall.

"Meanwhile a new race of men appeared in America, whose peculiar principles will be found, when traced through all their various effects, to have entailed on the colonies numberless woes, on the parent country the most perplexing embarrassments.

"The example of the Brownists of New Plymouth, whose persevering diligence had conquered difficulties, inflamed the spirit of adventure, by teaching men to despise disease and death, when they propagated their tenets or sought for gain. And zealots associated to plant the gospel in New England, at a

* Many of our own writers are unjust to Sir Henry Vane. It is the opinion of so competent a judge as the late Sir James Mackintosh, that he was one of the most profound thinkers who ever lived, and scarcely inferior to Bacon. His life, by the Rev. Charles W. Upham, in Sparks's *American Biography*, is an admirable production, and has done much towards disseminating correct views of his real character and merits.

time when many minds were filled with religious fury or political Puritanism. Having determined to transfer to others what they could not plant themselves, the great Plymouth Company granted a considerable tract of that country, which they had been unable to people, in which they could not even possess their envied monopoly, because they had found the fishers sturdy men when invigorated by the support of Parliament. And, in March, 1627-8, they readily conveyed to Rosewell and his associates an extensive territory lying around Massachusetts Bay, with such powers of government as they could communicate to others. Urged by their zeal, this association soon detached Endicott thither as their agent, with a few planters and servants, in order to form a settlement, which acquired its name from the arm of the sea whereon it was placed; 'where non-conformists might enjoy the liberty of their own persuasion.' — Vol. i., pp. 39, 40.

The people of the North "entailed no woes" upon their fellow-subjects in America; they involved England in no "perplexing embarrassments." But the mother country, by continual interference with their industry, wore out their power of endurance. Taunted, in the spirit of the work before us, for a century and a half, with the heresy of their faith, and impeded in all their enterprises ever after the death of Cromwell, they invoked the sympathy of their Colonial brethren whose religion and pursuits were favored objects of her regard; and when their joint appeals to her justice and magnanimity failed to shake her purposes, then, by the union of counsel, arms, and effort, all the Colonies together broke from her dominion. If the war of the Revolution had its origin in a long course of aggression upon the rights of the North, its successful issue was due in some measure to the more meritorious, because more disinterested, exertions of the South. If the "peculiar principles" of New England, which our author so frequently and bitterly reproaches as the causes of all imaginable ills, were gradually diffused throughout the country, so that Episcopal and monarchical Virginia at last furnished a commander for the Puritan and republican soldiers of Massachusetts, we are led to infer, that the wrongs which united men of such different characters and pursuits were far too deep and grave to be excused or extenuated; and therefore, that the book before us, able, earnest, and honest, as we concede it to be, is an utter failure for all the purposes for which it was designed. War is ever a

sad event ; and it is especially sad, and humanity and Christianity are doubly grieved, whenever it is waged between brethren. The contest between England and her Colonies should not have happened. The mother should have arranged terms of separation from her children in peace and kindness. A simple treaty, stipulating for commercial advantages for a term of years, would have secured to her every thing that she desired, or could have obtained by a continuance of the connection. The errors of the past cannot be mentioned too often ; for it is by the remembrance of them that wisdom is gained to direct communities for the future.

“ We must carefully distinguish between the emigrants of 1620 and those of 1630, if we would form an accurate judgment of the founders of New England. In one characteristic, indeed, they both agreed, as they were all Puritans of the most rigid kind. The settlers of New Plymouth appear to have been men of great zeal with little knowledge, who exerted an industry and perseverance prompted by their indigence.

“ The principal planters of Massachusetts were English country-gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortunes ; of enlarged understandings, improved by liberal education ; of extensive ambition, concealed under the appearance of religious humility. The ecclesiastics of the first were at once ignorant and enthusiastic. The clergy of the second, having derived their scholastic knowledge from Oxford and from Cambridge, possessed rather more than a competent share of learning, which they did not, however, bequeath to their successors : and, having found objections to the church of England, of which they had been members, in the innovations of the age, endeavoured to discover the truth in every extreme. The savage vulgarity of both classes gave them considerable influence over the minds of the multitude ; whose manners they formed, whose inclinations they directed, to that love of equality, that impatience of restraint, which strangers in after times attributed to a ‘ levelling principle.’ And to this source may be traced up the genuine causes of the various events of their annals ; of those that are already past, of those that are yet to be mentioned.” — Vol. I., pp. 57, 58.

And this was meant to convey to posterity a correct account of those who came to found New England ! The settlers of Plymouth were not, as is here asserted, persons of “ little knowledge.” Brewster, who was educated at an English University, who was remarkably well versed in the

ancient languages, and who had been the friend and counselor of a favorite minister of Elizabeth, was certainly an accomplished man. Governor Bradford was a writer of merit, and a proficient in the Dutch, French, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, while his acquirements in history, politics, and philosophy were very respectable. Edward Winslow possessed rare qualifications as a statesman, and his literary productions are still consulted with pleasure. Fuller was regularly bred to the practice of medicine, and was distinguished for professional knowledge and skill. Allerton was an intelligent and active merchant, and was often intrusted with public business of great importance to the Colony. These names are quite sufficient to repel the imputation ; but others could be added, were it necessary.

It is next asserted, that the "ecclesiastics were at once ignorant and enthusiastic." Their enthusiasm we shall not undertake to deny ; but we are by no means disposed to admit that they were deficient in learning. Among the clergy of the infant Colony were Smith, Roger Williams, Lathrop, Norton, and Patridge, all of whom, the first excepted, were educated at one of the ancient seats of English learning. From Plymouth, also, were Dunster and Chauncy, the first and second presidents of Harvard University, both of whom filled the station with usefulness and honor. It was the privilege of the former to direct and mature the opening mind of Sir George Downing, whose part in devising the celebrated Navigation Act will insure perpetual mention of his name, either for praise or censure, in the commercial annals of the world. Of Chauncy it may be remarked, that he had been Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Cambridge in England, and had enjoyed the most intimate relations with Usher, who is said to have been "the first scholar in Europe." In truth, the only ignorant clergyman in the Colony, whom we have ever heard of, was dismissed on account of his deficiencies.

As it is conceded, that the pastoral care of the churches of Massachusetts, within its ancient limits, did not devolve upon ignorant teachers, we need make no inquiry into this part of the subject ; but as the clergymen of both Colonies are accused of "savage vulgarity," it may be worth while to say a word about their character and manners. Wilson, the first minister of Boston, was the relative of an archbishop,

and as he was "chaplain in several honorable families" while in England, his manners were probably formed among gentlemen. The harsh language of Chalmers is ill-suited to describe the mild Cotton, the Melancthon of the New World; or the heavenly-minded Hooker, the grave and pure Higginson, the apostolic John Eliot, or the first of the Mathers. Its application would be wholly unjust to Bulkley, Sherman, the Allens, Rogers, and many other clergymen who accompanied the early emigrants. It would be very remarkable, if so many Englishmen, trained at the best institutions of the realm, most of them being of gentle parentage, who were in holy orders, and had mingled in polished society, had been persons of bad breeding. Chalmers's censure would not be just, even if it were written of Hugh Peters, the most exceptionable of them all.

Shute came out to Massachusetts, charged by Addison, who was then a minister of state, "to suffer no publications, nor even the existence of a printing-press, without his license"; but the printers of Boston paid but little heed to the command, and after an ineffectual attempt to restrain them, the contest was given up by the officers of the crown. Chalmers thus announces the fact.

"It is from the year 1719, that we ought to date the freedom of the press; which, thenceforth, poured forth its libels, numerous and virulent, in proportion to the late restraint, without distributing, as an antidote, the productions of genius or the warnings of morality." — Vol. II., p. 20.

This passage begins in error, and ends in a lamentable perversion of truth. The press did not become free at the period stated, nor for a considerable time afterwards. In the early part of 1719, it was deemed necessary to obtain license from Shute to publish a pamphlet upon the very harmless subject of providing Boston with market-houses, of which the town was then destitute;* while censorship of the newspapers continued to be enforced so rigidly, that, four years after, matter intended for publication in them was required to be examined by the Colonial secretary. Though no particular officer may have been charged with the duty of supervision later than the year 1730, a publisher was sent to

* Dr. Colman published a sermon on the reasons for a market in Boston, in 1719.

prison in 1754, upon suspicion of having printed remarks derogatory to some members of the Colonial government.* About the year last mentioned, as the Bible could not be lawfully printed here, an edition of it — the first one published in America in the vernacular tongue — was privately put forth from an office in “Prison Lane”; † it bore the London imprint, and a close resemblance to one of the editions published by the favored printers “at home,” who enjoyed a monopoly by patent from the crown.

Of a far graver character is the statement which concludes the paragraph. We deny its correctness, and aver that the ante-revolutionary press of Massachusetts was not licentious, but, on the contrary, that it was remarkably pure. It is true, that, “in proportion to the late restraint,” it did pour forth sermons and essays in great profusion; and it is true, also, that, for the half century preceding the controversies which terminated in dismembering the British empire, the number of publications upon various subjects in Massachusetts was nearly equal to the whole number ever issued in any of the other Colonies. But as the habit of obtaining books from England could not be suddenly changed upon the breaking down of an odious ordinance, as adequate supplies of paper and types of domestic manufacture could not be had, and as the printers were generally too poor to import the materials necessary for executing large and expensive works, few of this sort were published. But since there was certainly one edition of the Scriptures complete, and one or more of the New Testament separately, one of the Psalter of thirty

* It may not be without interest to show what was thought of the freedom of the newspaper press thirty or forty years ago. In February, 1812, the attorney-general and solicitor-general of Massachusetts state, in an official report to Governor Gerry, that, in their judgment, there had appeared in the Boston papers, since the preceding 1st of June, no less than *two hundred and fifty-three libellous articles*; to wit, in *The Scourge*, 99; *The Centinel*, 51; *The Repertory*, 34; *The Gazette* 33; *The Palladium*, 18; *The Messenger*, 1; *The Chronicle*, 8; and *The Patriot*, 9; while in *The Yankee* there had been none. The dates of the papers are given, and the libellous matter is divided into two kinds; that in which the truth could be, and that in which it could not be, given in evidence to justify the party accused. These law officers state, moreover, that their examinations had not embraced complete files of all of these prints; that they had not included in their list calumnious publications against foreign governments or distinguished foreigners, or libels of the editorial brethren against each other. It appears that the inquiry was instituted at his Excellency's request.

† Court Street.

thousand copies, a number of the versifications of Watts and other psalmists, and a variety of books for schools and for the improvement of youth, most men will agree with us in believing, that something was done to diffuse both "the productions of genius" and "the warnings of morality."

And further ; our stanch loyalist, in his desire to inflict a blow upon his political foes, wounds those of his own party. We could not expect him to praise Dummer's defence of the New England charters ; nor the essays of Cooke, who led the "levellers" until he was worn out and broken down with the toils and anxieties of his position ; nor the later writings of Otis, Quincy, Oxenbridge Thacher, Chauncy, and Cooper ; but we might have looked for some favorable notice of the labors of Hutchinson, Auchmuty, and other writers of the same class. Within the period of which he speaks, there were in New England upwards of one hundred and forty authors on subjects of theology, history, science, and politics, of whom the greater part belonged to Massachusetts. A large majority of them were clergymen of distinguished talents and learning. As Cutler, Hooper, Apthorp, and others of Episcopal ordination, whose discourses or disquisitions are preserved, were among them, a less prejudiced writer would have made a more liberal and a more truthful record.

The remarks of Chalmers upon the expedition against Cape Breton are too long to be transferred entire to our pages. Their general tone, however, may be inferred from the extracts which follow. We ought to say, that, unlike some other writers of the time, he does not claim the whole glory of success for the British fleet that coöperated with the land forces of the Colonists.

"Three thousand volunteers were easily raised, since they were promised the plunder ; and the aid of the other colonies was, meanwhile, asked, because they were all equal interested in an enterprise which offered equally security to all. Pepperell, a respectable merchant, who had courted fortune with too much diligence to find leisure to study the art of war, who, by the probity of his dealings, had, however, acquired popularity among his countrymen, was appointed commander-in-chief. Every colony which sent a quota of troops gave him a separate commission, because all were equally independent and neither was supreme.

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"In April, 1745, Pepperell arrived before Louisburg, whose fortifications were mouldering into dust, whose defenders were mutinous for want of pay. He was aided by an English fleet under Warren, whose early blunders were covered by ultimate triumph. Pepperell gave a lesson to officers regularly bred to the profession of arms, by attacking the defences where they were least able to resist, without any technical delays or any of the refinements of art. And pressed by assaults, vigorous yet tumultuary, the garrison capitulated, when they saw the numbers of their assailants daily increase at the same time that their own resources were cut off by the capture of their ships within sight of the ramparts. But difficulties occurred during this happy moment which seem not to have been foreseen, though they naturally sprang out of the defects of a jurisdiction unequal to the object. Whether the keys should be delivered to Pepperell or to Warren, whether the general or the admiral was entitled to command, were questions which their prudence easily resolved into compromise. And both received the signs of submission and each alternately issued his orders. Disappointed as to the promised plunder, the New-English soldiers proposed to divide the country among themselves, as the sailors exercised the exclusive privilege of despoiling the Spaniards. With arms in their hands, it was not easy to prevent their purposes, since, from their fathers, they had learned to yield little reverence to authority.

"Knowles, who succeeded Warren as governor, remarked to the Duke, in July, 1746, 'that the first accounts received by your Grace of the strength and importance of Louisburg were written while success warmed the breast, and then zeal is apt to run into enthusiasm'; that, owing to the continuance of fogs and the frosts, the labor of twenty years and the expense of a million would not put the works in a defensible state of repair against a vigorous attack. The conquerors carefully published to the world the advantages and the glory of the conquest, while the honest remonstrances of Knowles were carefully concealed by those who hoped for fame from the actions of others. And the nation was taught to rejoice at an event that seemed to give a momentary lustre to the most unsuccessful of wars."— Vol. II., pp. 238 – 241.

As the circumstances which attended the fall of the strongest fortress in America are so familiar to all readers of our annals, we shall stop to make but few remarks upon these extracts. Its capture, as several English writers admit, gave England favorable terms of peace, though our author evi-

dently regards it as of little consequence. His account appears both unsatisfactory and unfair. It was new to us, that the fortifications were in a ruinous condition before the siege. Pepperell and Warren, in their joint despatch to the minister, represent them as being "very strong," and as having exceeded "their most extended apprehensions." Whether Knowles spoke the exact truth respecting their dilapidated state in 1746 is immaterial; because the nine thousand cannon-balls and six hundred bombs, which were fired into them during the forty-nine days occupied in the siege, in 1745, probably did them some injury; and shattered masonry, exposed to the weather for a whole year, does not improve in appearance or strength. We never heard that the soldiery were promised "the plunder," or that Louisburg contained any "Spaniards" to be plundered. The official papers of Shirley, Pepperell, and Warren make no mention of such a promise made or broken; and as Cape Breton was a French colony, it may be supposed that its capital city was inhabited by Frenchmen.

"And to the New-English was repaid the expense of the capture, amounting to £ 183,649, in order to encourage their future efforts, as they had convinced the world of their power. But it was only remarked by the few, that it was of little consequence to the state whether her battles were fought by the Swiss or the Hessians, by the Russians or Americans, if she paid for their services as mercenaries, rather than received their contributions as subjects." — Vol. II., p. 241.

"To the colonies, who had now learned to barter their services for gold, Britain repaid the fruitless expense, amounting to £ 235,817; which enriched them in the same proportion that it impoverished her." — p. 244.

"The parliament granted to this colony, as its share of reimbursement for the capture of Cape Breton, £ 183,000 of real money, which probably was a greater sum than Massachusetts had spent of real wealth during the war." — p. 246.

"The New-English alone, of all the colonists, appear to have engaged in the contest with zeal, because they had learned to enrich themselves by exchanging their military services for substantial gold; by acting as the mercenaries rather than the subjects of a great empire." — p. 253.

The expedition against Louisburg was a crusade. The eloquent Whitefield furnished the motto for the flag, many

of his disciples enlisted under it, and a strong religious zeal was universally awakened in behalf of the undertaking. It was the boldest and most successful enterprise mentioned in our Colonial history, and there is not a particle of evidence to show, that it was projected from the desire of pecuniary reward. True, the amount expended was reimbursed ; and why should it not have been, when England, for equivalents in Europe of no possible benefit to the Colonies, restored the city and the island on which it was situated to France, its former possessor ? But whoever is led, from the passages which we have quoted, to suppose that the "reimbursement" was promptly and willingly made, may learn what delays and difficulties were encountered in prosecuting the claim from the correspondence of Bollan, the agent of Massachusetts. The sum at length obtained was considerable ; but the retention of Cape Breton by England would have been of far more consequence to the maritime Colonies than was the amount which they received for its conquest ; nor did they ever recover from the dissatisfaction which its restoration caused.

"In December, 1722, Shute departed suddenly for England, because, knowing that the numbers and the virulence of his enemies increased, he feared for his personal safety. That they should have forced from his station a governor, whose religion was congenial with their own, whose talents were unequal to any purpose of encroachment, whose moderation was satisfied with a petty and precarious maintenance, is a singular proof of their principles. He was one of those well-meaning men, who in private life gain some respect because they are harmless ; but he possessed not even the minute diligence which enables men of little parts to transact great affairs ; and the Board of Trade repeatedly threatened to lay his neglectful conduct before the king, since they received from the newspapers the earliest and best accounts of his province. He had scarcely departed, when the representatives, in characteristic language, declared, 'that they were not conscious of having given any cause for the governor's withdrawing in this unheard-of way.' And they prepared, by their agents, to make a vigorous defence against the accusations, which they knew it was his purpose to lay before their common sovereign." — Vol. II., pp. 25, 26.

The political contests of Shute's time were more bitter, probably, than any which occurred before the administra-

tion of Bernard. The two great subjects of dispute related to a fixed salary for the chief magistrate, and to the pine-trees reserved by the charter for the use of the royal navy ; * but our limits will not allow us to consider either. We avail ourselves of this passage only to notice generally the blindness of our author to the real causes of Colonial complaints. He seldom seems to have considered, that the royal governors were intrusted with the execution of commands which the Colonists regarded as infringing their most important rights, and that this circumstance sufficiently explains many of the long and bitter controversies which arose between them. Nor does he appear to have attached due weight to the fact, that another cause of dissatisfaction might be found in the conduct, character, or qualifications of the governors themselves. He admits, in a preceding passage, that Shute's "natural imbecility," and other reasons, disqualified him for the station to which he was appointed, and the same admission is substantially repeated in the extract before us ; but he still finds the causes of this governor's discomfiture in the "principles" of the people whom he was sent to govern.

Chalmers would have had the Colonists respect and obey the representatives of the king, even if they were madmen or fools. In his judgment, contempt for the servants of the crown was proof of contempt for the crown itself. In the struggles of the popular assemblies against the will of arbitrary functionaries, as we have already remarked, he often saw designs of independence. But, by his own account, it is evident that many who were intrusted with the performance of executive duties were entirely incompetent for their office, either from deficiency of talent, defects of temper, or want of knowledge of Colonial affairs. Thus, Schuyler, in his opinion, was a well meaning man, but of small intellect ; Montgomery had neither mental vigor nor bodily activity ; Cosby was violent, self-willed, and committed great public wrongs on the most frivolous pretexts. He says that the predecessors of Spotswood, in Virginia, were destitute of qualifications for their office, and that Drysdale, the successor of Spotswood, was a weak and inferior officer. The elevation of a miller to the dignity of lieutenant-governor of

* Some account of the disputes under the second head may be found in an article on "The Forest Lands and Timber Trade of Maine," *N. A. Review*, Vol. LVIII., p. 299.

New Hampshire, as he considers, was a continuance of the careless and feeble policy which had formerly conferred the same honor on a carpenter. He denies to Everard the possession of either talents or virtue, and accuses Barrington of having shown neither honesty nor ability. Hardy and Clinton were both seamen, and men of ordinary minds, while the former was deficient in discretion. Sothell practised every crime ; Gooken was weak ; Keith, artful and faithless ; and Gordon, old and imbecile. Such rulers, not to mention others who might be added, and without including those of the revolutionary era, show that sufficient reasons for discontent and violent altercations existed, independent of the principles of the Colonists. Chalmers quotes the remark, as a shrewd saying, that " the proprietary governor has two masters ; one who gives him his commission, and one who gives him his pay ; and he is, therefore, on his good behaviour to both." Some of these dignitaries, we suspect, cared very little for either of their two masters ; and he who remarked, that they had *three* things to attend to, " First to fleece the people for the king, then for themselves, and lastly for the proprietaries their employers," told more truth, and had more wit, than the person cited by our well informed but strongly prejudiced annalist.

" In November, 1724, the ship-carpenters of the river Thames complained to their sovereign, ' that their trade was hurt, and their workmen emigrated, since so many vessels were built in New England.' West, the truly judicious and candid counsel of the Board of Trade, gave it as his opinion, ' that, though their grievance may be well founded, they might as well complain of ship-building at Bristol, because the acts of navigation had declared the plantation-built ships should be deemed English.' Yet the honest carpenters were wronged, though they could not explain how. Their injury resulted from a circumstance illegal and unjust ; that the ships of the Chesapeake, the Delaware, and Massachusetts were respected in the Thames as British, while the river-built vessels were regarded in Massachusetts, in the Delaware, and in the Chesapeake, as foreign. The Board reported, what ought to have roused the ministers of a naval nation, ' that they had good reason to believe the number of shipwrights in Britain had diminished one half since 1710 ; owing to the great number of ships annually built in the plantations, which being sold cheaper, few ships are now contracted for here ;' and, considering the importance of so useful a body of

men, they proposed, as the least exceptionable expedient, to lay a duty of five shillings the ton on plantation-built ships employed in the foreign trade of England." — Vol. II., pp. 33, 34.

The jealousy here spoken of existed half a century earlier ; and Child, the great commercial authority of his time, pointed out the dangers to be apprehended from the growth of Colonial shipping in 1670. But as we propose to consider this subject in another place, we notice this passage merely to say, that the project of taxing "plantation-built ships" has been revived quite lately. There appears to be a strong party in England favorable to the measure, and the design is urged with no little zeal, as the best means of preventing the unwelcome competition of the ships of the North American Colonies with those built in the British isles. The evil consequences of attempting to interfere with the maritime enterprise of Massachusetts and the other Northern Colonies, a century ago, would be sufficient, we think, were there no other reasons, to prevent the adoption of the plan. The relations of England with her possessions on this continent are not of that close and amicable nature, at the present time, which would make taxation safe in any form, and least of all would a tax upon ships be submitted to without earnest and angry complaints. The Colonists are already sufficiently aggrieved, they imagine, with the long continued endeavours to exclude their vessels from the best employments, on account of alleged inferiority of material, construction, and equipment. We invite the attention of the ship-owners of the United States to this and every similar proposal calculated to affect their interests. Every Colonial ship excluded from the ports of England is likely to seek an American cotton-mart, or otherwise interfere with our own vessels in the carriage of our products.

"Observing that the New-English, blessed with no native staple, carried on a circuitous commerce, by transporting to foreign nations the tobacco of the continent and the sugar and dyeing-woods of the islands, the parliament [in 1672], partly in order to check that disadvantageous traffic, but more to subject the colonists to the same duties which British residents had long been compelled to pay, imposed various taxes on the export of such commodities as the plantations then only produced. Placed under the superintendence of the treasury, those duties were directed to be levied in the colonies by the same officers, under the

same power as the customs were already collected in England. The Restoration having put a period to every term of exemption, the acts of tonnage and poundage having never been enforced in America, the present measure formed the seed-plot, on which was raised the subsequent system of colonial revenue; which, however, grew up stunted and unpromising, because its progress was obstructed, since the law was eluded.

"The governors had been the most early custom-house officers. Though they were paid, however, specific salaries for executing the laws of navigation, they acted feebly, perhaps dishonestly, since the Privy Council threatened them with punishment, not for acting weakly, but for acting wrong. Regular custom-houses were not long after erected successively in the colonies, though not on the extensive plan of modern times. The revenue officers were received, in different provinces, with kindness or with opposition, as the provincial principles led them to regard England with reverence or with jealousy. The assemblies of Virginia and of Maryland recognized 'the collectors' as legal officers; distinguishing between 'country dues and parliamentary customs.' But we shall find the collector opposed in New England with every circumstance of cunning and force. From that period there has existed, in colonial policy, a twofold collection of taxes on imports and exports; the provincial duties, established by the assemblies, and collected by the naval officers; the subsidies, granted by Parliament, and levied by the collectors. What can be more remarkable, than the rapid progress with which the commerce of the plantations has advanced to real greatness! Nothing can be more striking than the fact, that, though customs have, from time to time, been imposed on their traffic in its exaltation, the income arising from them did not, at the expiration of a century from the introduction of custom-house officers, amount to more than three-and-thirty thousand pounds. The year 1676 may be regarded as the epoch when the collectors of revenue were first sent thither under parliamentary sanction.* In 1776, they were formally expelled by a body of men, who regarded themselves as the representatives of the colonists, convened in a congress." — Vol. i., pp. 125–127.

Having, on a former occasion,† expressed our conviction, that the Navigation Act, and the laws of trade, which were a part of the system it was meant to enforce, contained the germ of the American Revolution, we do not propose to

* "The colonial income, arising from that system of finance, yielded, in 1677, £803. 2s. 8d."

† *N. A. Review*, Vol. LVII., p. 293.

discuss that subject now. But we wish to show more fully than Chalmers has done how abortive was the effort to fasten that system upon the Colonies, even in the days of their infancy and weakness. Colonial commerce was originally free; and Massachusetts, foremost in all maritime enterprises, not only traversed the ocean at will, but established a plan of revenue, appointed a collector of her customs, and exacted fees of vessels arriving at her ports. She also entered into an arrangement for commercial intercourse with Canada, or New France. And it is worthy of remark, that her policy, thus early developed, recognized the great principle of discrimination among the articles to be taxed, which formed the basis of our system at the organization of the present national government. The trade of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island was small; though, from a letter of Roger Williams, it appears, that it was designed to send a ship from the latter Colony to the East Indies. New England generally was not prepared to receive or obey any statute that should restrain her adventures upon the sea. When the collector arrived at Boston, he found the merchants there engaged in an extensive business, much of which, by the recent enactments, had become contraband, and it was, therefore, his duty to suppress it. They had dealings with Spain, France, Portugal, Holland, the Canaries, and even with Guinea and Madagascar, and they had accumulated considerable wealth. Josselyn, who was in Massachusetts a few years before the arrival of Randolph, the custom-house officer appointed for the North, says, that some merchants were "damnable rich"; and Dunton, who followed him about twenty years afterwards, speaks of a lady who came over from England, "with the valuable venture of her beautiful person, which went off at an extraordinary rate, she marrying a merchant in Salem worth nearly thirty thousand pound." Between the visits of these quaint chroniclers, the commissioners of Charles had come on their inglorious errand, and they made report of the general wealth of the Colony acquired by trade.

A commercial spirit existed elsewhere; and as every Colony had some share in the traffic which was to be checked, or, if possible, to be entirely broken up, none were disposed to submit quietly to the measures which were meant to effect either of these purposes. It is true, as is stated in the ex-

tract, that "the assemblies of Virginia and Maryland recognized the collectors as legal officers"; but difficulties arose in both Colonies, though neither of them possessed a considerable town or mart of trade. In the former, earnest complaints were made against the Act of Navigation, and the restraints imposed upon commerce generally. In Bacon's harangues to the people, these topics were not forgotten; and one of the objects to be gained by those who followed him into open rebellion was to "build ships, and, like New England, to trade to any part of the world." Towards the close of the century, seven collectors and naval-officers, all of whom were members of Andros's council, were found stationed in different parts of the Colony, and, in form at least, the Navigation Act and the kindred laws were afterwards observed. But though the declaration, that Virginia had long acquiesced in the acts restrictive of her commerce, occurs in her instructions to her delegates to the first Continental Congress, it may well be doubted whether the submission was more than nominal, or much as it was in other Colonies; since there is evidence to show that many of the king's revenue-officers were great traffickers, and were as unscrupulous as others who bought, sold, and shipped commodities. So in Maryland, there was a strenuous opposition to the establishment of a custom-house and the presence of a collector, whereby Lord Baltimore was involved in great difficulties, and his chartered rights were endangered. During the controversy, Rousby, the collector, was killed.

In North Carolina, the attempt to promote a more lawful trade, and the dispute with a New England trader as to the entry of his vessel and the payment of the king's duties, was one of the causes of an insurrection, which resulted in depositing and imprisoning Miller, the collector. In South Carolina, illicit traffic continued to be carried on, notwithstanding the presence and exertions of Muschamp, the royal officer of the customs; and opposition to his authority caused much tumult and disorder. In New York, Dyer, the Duke of York's collector, was indicted for performing his official duty; and the rebellion a few years afterwards, promoted by Leisler, — a wealthy merchant, who owned ships which he sent to Europe, and who lost his life, on the restoration of the lawful government, for the part he had taken in subverting it, — originated partly in the disputes that arose with the

principal officers of the revenue. In New Jersey, the collector was thwarted by the people who formed the juries, when prosecutions were commenced against smugglers; while the quarrels between the officers of that Colony and of New York, as to the right of entering and clearing vessels, added to the disturbances, and the seizures and condemnations which followed, produced great commotion.

In New England, the royal collector, surveyor, and searcher, as Randolph was called, encountered obstacles that would have subdued the spirit of any other man. Determined upon success, he made eight voyages to America during the nine years which connect his name with our subject. His instructions were dated from the "Custom-house, London, July 9, 1678," and affixed to them are the signatures of Ed. Dering, Ch. Cheyne, and G. Downing. These instructions were long and tediously minute, being arranged under nineteen distinct heads. They were evidently framed by one who was thoroughly acquainted with the course of Colonial trade, and perhaps by Downing himself. The offences for which ships and cargoes might be seized were very numerous. He was furnished with a number of documents, copies of which were probably given to all officers engaged in the same business with himself. Among these papers were the "Act of Tonnage and Poundage," the "Act of Navigation," that for "preventing Fraud," for "Encouragement of Trade," for "The better regulating the Plantation Trade," and for "The better securing the Plantation Trade. He was directed, moreover, to settle his "usual residence in the port of Boston, in Massachusetts Colonie," and to appoint one deputy at least in the "Colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, Rhode Island, the Province of Mayne, and New Hampshire."

Such was the mission of the first royal officer of the customs who appeared among the Roundheads of Boston. He was a doomed man before his arrival. The vessels which were seized by him and his deputies were rescued; the subordinates were fined by the Colonial courts for their officious zeal; and the principal, after enduring every indignity, was at last imprisoned. In a letter to Lord Clarendon, written from Boston, in 1682, he says, "I humbly beseech your Lordship, that I may have consideration for all my losses and money laid out in prosecuting seizures here." The same

year, he wrote to the Bishop of London : " I have a great fammyly to mayntayne, have had great losses and expences about his Majesties service here." To a Mr. Povey, in 1687, he says : " I am at 50 £ a year charge to keep an able clerke, and cannot get any fees settled sufficient to pay that charge." In a letter dated from the " Gaol in Boston," to the governor of Barbadoes, he thus writes : " The countrey is poor, the exact execution of the acts of trade hath much impoverished them : *all the blame lyes upon me, who first attacked and then overthrew their charter*, and was made the officer to continue their Egyptian servitude, by my office of collector." Again, and from his dungeon, he implored Cooke, his old enemy, to take from his apartment a wounded fellow-prisoner, whose sores had become insupportably offensive. The commercial orders of Sir Edmund Andros, who was sent to govern New England after the charter of Massachusetts was vacated, were as rigid as those of Randolph. He was deposed, and then the attempt rigidly to enforce these orders ended.

Such was the result of the *first* effort to fasten the Navigation Act and the Laws of Trade upon the American Colonies. It was hoped that the second attempt, made nearly a century afterwards, would be more successful ; but it terminated more disastrously than the former one. Separation from the mother country would have followed the one as certainly as it did the other, if there had been the same strength and concert, the same deeply seated irritation, caused by often repeated and long continued wrongs, and the same aid from the state of English and European politics. There never was a period, early or late, when the maritime Colonies would have submitted willingly to the requirements of these statutes, or when their influence would not have caused opposition to them to be made in the other Colonies. Whoever carefully traces the course of events for the fifteen years immediately following 1676 will discover a most striking resemblance to those which occurred between 1761 and the commencement of hostilities. The periods of the introduction and the expulsion of royal collectors of the customs are alike memorable epochs in our annals.

After narrating at some length the events which preceded the war between England and Spain, in 1739, Chalmers says, that the object of the war was " partly to avenge the

supposed depredations of Spain, but more to protect Georgia from invasion, and to establish for Carolina a barrier." * Reverse the statement, and we come much nearer to the truth ; a writer who so frequently and severely condemns the illicit traffic of the Northern Colonies should have given the causes and objects of this war more accurately. The fact was, British subjects carried on an extensive contraband trade with the Spanish possessions, which Spain earnestly insisted upon checking or wholly suppressing. In the effort, it was alleged, she interrupted not only the unlawful commerce of British merchants, but that also which was legal ; and from this dispute principally, if not entirely, originated the appeal to arms. The desire to protect Georgia and to establish for Carolina a barrier was hardly among the leading pretexts for hostile measures, and had little or no share in really producing them. If British smugglers had not been molested, peace would have been preserved. The war was alike unnecessary and dishonorable.

We here conclude our hasty comments upon the work of this zealous friend and supporter of the prerogative, with commending it to our readers as well worthy of perusal, and even of diligent study. We cannot learn too much of *American history* ; and the publication of works relating to it, which contain original and valuable materials, ought to be encouraged, though, as in the present case, they also contain sentiments that are illiberal and unjust. It is only by reading both sides of the controversy which severed us from the parent stock, that the real issues can be certainly and fully ascertained. As this history ends with the reign of George the Second, the question as to the origin and effects of the agreements of non-importation, of the committees of correspondence, and of the Continental Congress, which were the three great engines that were used to tear up the framework of the Colonial system in the American Colonies, does not fairly come before us for consideration. It was a great disappointment to us, to find that our loyalist writer gives no account of the transactions of the fifteen years which immediately preceded the war. A digest prepared by him of the correspondence of the royal governors of the several Colonies with the ministry during that time would have had great

* Vol. II., p. 185.

interest. But as the writings of the losers in the strife continue to multiply, we may hope that something will appear at a future time to supply the deficiency. Would that each of the representatives of the crown, like Hutchinson, had written out his opinion of the men and measures that he resisted ! Cooke of Rhode Island, and Trumbull of Connecticut, were sound Whigs ; but with what avidity would the curious inquirer into the things of the past read narratives of the difficulties and embarrassments of Wentworth, Tryon, and Franklin, of Penn, Eden, Dunmore, and Martin, written out by their own hands !

ART. V. — *Theory of Morals : an Inquiry concerning the Law of Moral Distinctions and the Variations and Contradictions of Ethical Codes*. BY RICHARD HILDRETH. Boston : Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1844. 12mo. pp. 272.

“SEVERAL of my characters,” says the author of “Ten Thousand a Year,” “may be looked on as reptiles of a low order in the scale of being, whose simple structures almost one dash of the knife would suffice to lay thoroughly open. Gammon, however, I look upon as of a much higher order, possessing a far more complicated structure, adapted to the discharge of superior functions ; and who, consequently, requireth a more careful dissection.” The distinction here indicated applies emphatically to bad books. Some need but a single dash of the knife, and are not worth even that ; but combine weakness and wickedness in such happy proportions, that the reviewer may safely let them crawl unmolested to oblivion. The book before us is of a higher order ; it has many of the properties of a good book ; it is grave, decent, dignified, in its tone and manner ; it purports to be a truly philosophical work ; but its reasoning is all vitiated by the assumption of false premises, and its sober, didactic style is made the vehicle for conveying the most licentious sentiments in morals and theology.

Yet in some quarters this book will do good. The *reductio ad absurdum* is a mode of reasoning no less applicable

to moral than to mathematical science ; and on many moral subjects it furnishes arguments of peculiar cogency. For there are axioms in ethics no less than in geometry ; and there is no surer way of detecting latent fallacy in premises plausibly assumed, than to follow out these premises to legitimate conclusions at variance with established axioms in moral science. Happy is it for the public, when the advocate of a false theory of morals does this work himself, and thus comprises within the covers of the same book the bane and the antidote. Such has been the fair, open, honest course pursued by Mr. Hildreth. He has fearlessly carried out his principles, has exhibited their application to the details of domestic and social life, and has engrafted upon them a code of practical morals, which, were he to embody it in actual conduct, would soon confer upon him the crown of martyrdom at the hands of the hangman. In this way he has rendered the public a very timely service. There are many beardless youths and lisping maidens, and some men and women old enough to know better, who flout at authority in morals, parade their own intuitions and instincts as the sole criterion of right, and vaguely intimate, that laws, which generations of the wise and good have revered as bearing the broad seal of heaven, have become obsolete, or at least must undergo the revision of the nineteenth century, and pass henceforth for what each individual may deem them worth. Our author has most lucidly demonstrated, that those benevolent impulses, which, as he says, alone constitute virtue, permit every unmarried woman to become a prostitute, and forbid not the disappointed man to die by his own hand ; nor will it be easy for the pure-minded and virtuous disciples of the new philosophy to deny these revolting conclusions, unless by admitting the incompetency of man, without divine aid, to discover and mark out for himself the path of virtue. Mr. Hildreth terms his system a "forensic" system of ethics, and with great propriety ; for its general adoption would furnish inexhaustible occupation for the courts of justice. But it is time that we presented an analysis of the book.

Mr. Hildreth commences by setting aside as baseless the leading ethical systems of ancient and modern times, and denying the existence of any intrinsic difference, any essential, immutable distinction, between right and wrong. Actions, as he says, are the only subjects of moral cognizance.

Those actions which give pleasure to others are praiseworthy ; those which give neither pleasure nor pain to others, indifferent ; those which give pain to others, wrong. Virtue is benevolent action ; nor can any classes of actions, which have not reference to our fellow-men, nor yet any sentiments and affections towards them, which do not express themselves in action, proffer a claim to be regarded as virtuous. The discharge of what are called duties to ourselves is virtuous, only because it enables us to be more useful to others. A man is under no obligation to temperance, chastity, or mental or moral self-culture, for his own sake. Nay, insomuch as he governs his appetites and passions, acquires knowledge, and cherishes refining and elevated tastes and pursuits, that he may attain a higher rank in the spiritual universe, may become worthy of self-respect, and may enlarge and exalt his sphere of self-consciousness, he is not virtuous, but selfish. At every stage of mental and moral progress, if he would be virtuous, his efforts and attainments must grow from the sole aim and purpose of becoming a more useful social machine. Religious acts and observances have been, and still are, deemed virtuous by ignorant people, (not by our author,) because God has been "supposed to be, like man, accessible to pain and pleasure, and certain acts of men have been supposed able to give him pleasure and to give him pain."

The only motives to human action are *pains*, either "simple pains," or "pains of desire." "Pains of benevolence" are the only motives to virtue. For these we are indebted to the constitution of human nature. We cannot defend ourselves against them. They will come, and crave relief ; and our efforts to relieve them are the sum and substance of virtue ; so that, after all, benevolence is mere selfishness, and virtue the gratification of an irresistible instinct. The sentiment of benevolence, which, if uncontrolled, would lead constantly to the performance of virtuous actions, is stimulated, restrained, modified, and counteracted by various other emotions. It is necessarily drawn forth towards those from whom we hope enjoyment or benefit ; hence, and hence alone, the love of kindred and friends. It is strongly excited towards those from whom we have received enjoyment or benefit ; hence gratitude. Among the sentiments which modify, either favorably or unfavorably, that of benevolence, Mr.

Hildreth assigns a prominent place to "self-comparison." Hence flow the "pains of inferiority and the pleasures of superiority." To shun the former, to attain the latter, is the great aim of the philanthropist and of every man of eminent virtue. The desire of surpassing others in power, though it may lead to reckless schemes of self-aggrandizement, often allies itself with benevolence, and prompts an individual to show the world how much good he can do. Moreover, virtue or benevolence itself is often made the subject and ground of self-comparison. In this case, an individual is tormented by "pains of inferiority," so long as there exist human beings more virtuous than himself; and he is thus goaded on to the highest achievements of virtue.

In addition to the emotions that modify or control the sentiment of benevolence, there are also "certain qualities or temperaments, called virtues, because they are essential to the performance of beneficial actions." The principal of these are wisdom, courage, fortitude, firmness, hopefulness, activity, and capacity. These qualities are in themselves morally indifferent, nor do the processes by which they are attained or cultivated imply any moral excellence. They may, on the other hand, be combined with malevolence; in which case, they forfeit even a good name, and are designated by terms of reproach.

"Actions, of whatever kind, must originate in mental necessity." Every motive has its determinate and immutable weight; and the conduct of an individual, in any particular instance, depends upon the number and relative weight of the motives at the moment incumbent on him. Moral obligation in the individual derives its standard and its measure from the *net weight* (so to speak) of benevolent motives in his mind, and has no existence where the benevolent impulses are fully counterbalanced by tendencies of an opposite character, even though there exist a full knowledge of right and duty. As regards any given community, the standard of moral obligation is the average benevolence of the community. The duties of the individual are determined by the standard of moral obligation in the community of which he is a member. He who does more than his duty is meritorious, and, by exciting towards himself the benevolence of his neighbours, becomes the subject of reward. Demerit is affirmed of him who does less than his duty; and he thereby

draws down upon himself the malevolence of his neighbours, and thus becomes the subject of punishment.

Such in brief is the "Theory of Morals," drawn out in the *first* part of the work before us, and, in the *second* part, applied to the "solution of moral problems and conciliation of ethical codes." With reference to "rights of personal security," to which the first chapter of the second part relates, we are met by propositions abhorrent from every sentiment of humanity, and in accordance with the morality of the least enlightened nations and ages. The praise of Cato's suicide is endorsed and echoed, for the first time, perhaps, since the days of Seneca ; and he who kills himself to escape disgrace or degradation deserves "approbation, admiration, and applause." The "law of honor," the duellist's sanguinary code, is sanctioned by forensic morality ; and it is more than intimated, that "there are certain cases in which it is a duty to accept, and even to send, a challenge ; and if homicide ensue, it is held to be justifiable." Private revenge, in an imperfectly organized state of society, is beneficial and meritorious ; and the executors of Lynch law are to be regarded as public benefactors. Forensic morals have not a word to say against infanticide, whether by the destruction of children before birth, or the exposure or murder of them after birth. Extinction of being is no evil, and may be a benefit, to the child ; and parents, when they discern no prospect of honor or happiness for their children, have an undoubted right, nay, in strong cases, may be obliged by sentiments of benevolence, to inflict upon themselves the pain which infanticide must cost them.

Next follows a chapter on the rights of property, in the main faultless, closing with a series of remarks on slavery, which may be taken as a specimen of the author's style and manner, and to the justice of which, the last paragraph excepted, we cordially assent.

The sneer at the Christian Scriptures, at the close of this last paragraph, needs no refutation for the sake of any person conversant with the New Testament ; for the doctrine of human brotherhood pervades the entire records of our religion, and the whole system of equal rights and free political institutions has Christianity for its basis. The imputation cast upon the Apostle Paul, as being friendly to slavery, is derived from his epistle to Philemon, in which he commends to his

former master a fugitive slave, "not now as a slave, but above a slave, a brother beloved"; and adds, "If thou count me a partner, receive him as myself." Now, what rabid Abolitionist is there who would not cheerfully send back a fugitive slave to a master to whom he could commit such a charge as this with a good hope of being obeyed?

The next chapter treats of "promises, contracts, and truth in general." Forensic morals, we are told, permit us to deceive or to utter falsehood, whenever it seems probable that more beneficial results will be produced by such a course than by adherence to the truth. The conscious and deliberate utterance of an untruth, when no injury to another can result from it, is represented as a very trivial offence, and, according to Mr. Hildreth's "*Theory of Morals*," ought not to be reckoned as an offence or a sin, but should be placed among indifferent actions.

We have not space to follow our author through the various practical applications of his theory. With reference to the marriage covenant and the obligation of chastity, his maxims are most offensively loose and licentious. It is truly gratifying to learn, however, in the last chapter of this part, that the science of morals is a progressive science, and has not yet attained its maturity. How far its progress has been aided by the work under discussion, we leave our readers to say.

The third part treats of the "connection between happiness and virtue, and the true means of promoting both." Virtue, we are told, increases the happiness of the community; but it has not necessarily the same effect on the virtuous individual. The sacrifices which a man makes in order to do good often remain uncompensated, while the selfish often live and die happy. There is, therefore, an essential difference between the expedient and the right, and there are very few men for whom it is expedient to be virtuous; for "the greatest amount of moral pleasure" is seldom coincident with "the greatest sum total of all pleasures." Education and the general diffusion of the arts and comforts of civilized life are specified as the two chief means of elevating the standard of morals.

We have thus given a brief and imperfect outline of Mr. Hildreth's positive theories. We have, however, glanced but slightly at the skepticism with regard to all the essential doc-

trines of both natural and revealed religion, which pervades the work. The author is in this respect to be admired for his bold and frank self-consistency. His system of ethics is utterly human and earthly. It has no hold upon a higher sphere or a future state of being. It recognizes no parties except human agents. Did it admit a Deity, it would leave him no place in the moral universe, no function, either authoritative or executive, as regards the moral notions or conduct of men. His existence would be otiose and superfluous. Mr. Hildreth, therefore, acting under Horace's time-honored rule,

"Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit,"

makes an undisguised profession of bald, blank atheism. He ascribes the idea of supernatural existences to men's ignorance of the causes of events and phenomena. Polytheism was the earliest faith. Monotheism has been the result of a skepticism growing out of increased intelligence and a more intimate acquaintance with natural science, and is the intermediate step between religious belief and atheism, the denial of a personal Deity necessarily supervening upon high attainments in wisdom, whether by individuals or by the race. Whether these notions were borrowed directly from Lucretius, we have not the means of ascertaining; but we have been led to suppose that theology cannot be, like morals, "a progressive science," by finding that this last announcement of the newest philosophy was distinctly proclaimed in the "*De Rerum Naturâ*," nineteen centuries ago:—

"Ignorantia caussarum conferre deorum
Cogit ad imperium res, et concedere regnum;
Quorum operum caussas nullâ ratione videre
Possunt, ac fieri divino numine rentur."

Throughout the work under review, the belief in a personal deity is termed "the mystical hypothesis," and the morality founded on his alleged will or on sentiments of duty to him, "mystical morality"; nor does the author omit a single convenient opportunity of casting ridicule on religious ideas consecrated by the faith of the whole Christian world, and on the ethical systems and maxims of the Old and New Testaments. His sneers are characterized by the grave irony and mock solemnity which both sheathe and point the sting of Voltaire's irreligious sarcasm; and, though Mr. Hildreth has

entered the book in the district clerk's office as all his own, and "claims the right thereof as proprietor," and we are therefore reluctant to dispute his pretensions as a strictly original author, our memory greatly deceives us if some of his most bitter gibes and scoffs were not preëxistent in Voltaire's "Philosophical Dictionary."

We will not undertake to refute, point 'by point, the "Theory of Morals," of which we have endeavoured to present the outline. Its premises are atheism ; its deductions, gross licentiousness ; — the former refuted by the common reason of mankind, — the latter repulsed with loathing by the moral sentiment of every true heart. The system hangs well together, is nearly impregnable at intermediate points, and can be attacked only in its God-denying premises, or its soul-destroying deductions ; and these we are content to leave to the good sense and right feeling of our readers. But before closing this article, we would say a few words with regard to moral distinctions, the standard of moral obligation, and the mutual relations of law and conscience.

In the first place, right and wrong are not subjective distinctions as regards the individual moral agent, growing out of his peculiar degree of moral knowledge, capacity, or motive. Nor yet are they arbitrary distinctions, created by the legislation of supreme and absolute power. They are intrinsic and essential qualities of actions, — eternal and unchangeable, though the heavens fall. Moral differences necessarily result from the properties and relations of every being and object in the universe. Every being or object must necessarily have its own laws of being, its peculiar adaptations, its native affinities, its appropriate functions or uses, its place and office with reference to other beings and objects. Every intelligent being, in every conscious act, either obeys or violates the inherent laws of his nature, — either recognizes or disowns the relations of his physical or moral being. Hence, every conscious act of such a being bears an essential and immutable moral character, — is in itself right or wrong. True, an action may be wrong, without implying guilt on the part of the wrong-doer ; for he may be innocently ignorant of the law which he violates, or the relation which he disowns. Yet his ignorance changes not the moral character of his action. That action has placed him for the time in a false position, has thrown him out of the harmony of the

moral universe, and has also brought upon him inevitably injurious consequences ; for no wrong-doing escapes its appropriate and normal retribution. The difference between the unconscious wrong-doer and him who " knows the right and yet the wrong pursues " is, that the latter, by his infidelity to conscience, violates more and higher laws of his being than the former, and consequently incurs a proportionally heavier retribution. Similar considerations apply to unintelligent objects. They are under the control of intelligent agents, human or divine ; and, with reference to their intrinsic nature and essential relations, they must necessarily, whenever they are the objects of the volition of an intelligent agent, be either used or abused, employed either for appropriate or for inappropriate ends, made either to subserve or to violate their essential laws or relations. Hence, at any given moment, the distinctions of right and wrong may be affirmed of every unintelligent object in the universe, according to the place which it has been made to occupy, and the purposes for which it has been made to serve, by the volitions of intelligent beings. These moral differences may be said, without irreverence, to exist, by an *a priori* necessity, independently of the Deity. They are the law of God. Could we conceive of a being omniscient and omnipotent, but at the same destitute of moral attributes, his decrees and acts would not necessarily be right. Right or wrong, they would indeed be irresistible ; but omnipotence itself could not make wrong right. God's decrees and acts are not right, because they are his ; but they are his because they are right. And with regard to moral precepts emanating from him, his laws do not render certain acts right, and certain others wrong ; by these laws he declares certain acts right, and certain others wrong, because they are so in their very nature.

We are now prepared to inquire, What is man's standard of moral obligation ? Our answer is, — and in giving it we express ourselves with no less philosophical accuracy than religious truth, — *divine revelation*. The laws of all beings, the properties and relations of all objects, are necessarily present to the mind of the infinite Creator, and, so far as they are known by his intelligent offspring, must be communicated to them by him. This communication is made, in part, through the beings and objects themselves. In many

instances, their properties, uses, and ends are written upon them by the Creator with so much distinctness and emphasis, that no intelligent being can overlook or misinterpret them. Up to the point to which beings and objects thus indicate their own laws and relations, God has made a revelation of the moral law through nature, — a revelation no less real, genuine, and divine than if it had been miraculously inscribed on tablets of stone. But there are many beings and objects that do not fully interpret themselves, but are subject to occult laws, and involved in complex, far-reaching, and obscure relations. This is the case with man. He is “fearfully and wonderfully made.” His constitution, physical and mental, is a bundle of insoluble enigmas. Left to himself, he ascertains intuitively but few of the laws of his being, learns a few others only by numberless mistakes and failures, and of many knows nothing till he dies. His destiny, if he have any but the grave, is hidden from him by a veil, beyond which he can get only shadowy and doubtful glimpses. His relations are vast and complicated. The influences of his activity extend through an ever-widening circle, and he knows not where they cease to be felt. And, if there be an infinite Creator, and a spiritual world embosoming the material, then is he intimately connected with a sphere of being, of which experience and observation can give him only the most meagre and scanty knowledge. There are a thousand practical questions affecting the daily conduct of life, which man cannot answer for himself, on account of his ignorance of his own true place in the moral universe. Such are the constantly recurring questions between immediate expediency and adherence to general principles, between the seemingly useful and the abstract right, between the conflicting claims of various classes of obligation and duty. “It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.” But, on these laws and relations of his being beyond his own clear cognizance, man can receive the testimony of his Creator, if sufficiently authenticated. And this testimony has, we believe, been tendered to mankind, sealed by miracles that cannot lie. It is given, indeed, in human language; and how else should it have been given? Human language, we are told, is ambiguous, and no revelation couched in it can convey clear, sufficient, and satisfying testimony; — the only true revelation is that made to each individual soul. But, let it be remem-

bered, we think in words, we reason by the use of words, and this inward revelation, when made the subject of our contemplation, assumes a verbal form ; and we know not why there need be any more ambiguity in the words of prophets and apostles, than in those in which our own musings and reflections clothe themselves. With regard to those facts of our being which lie beyond the range of our consciousness and experience, the only question is, as to the authenticity of the testimony, and the character of him from whom it comes. And if we have — as Christians believe that they have — a revelation bearing the broad seal of heaven, to this revelation are we to look for our standard of moral obligation, where the indications of nature suffice not ; and, the law of human life and duty having thus been made fully known, implicit faith and unquestioning obedience are the dictates of sound philosophy no less than of humble piety.

We ask, finally, what is the place and province of conscience or the moral sense ? On this point there is great confusedness of thought and speech. Conscience is often spoken of as an unvarying and universal standard of duty ; and this, notwithstanding the well known fact, that men's ideas of duty differ widely, according to their various degrees and modes of civilization and culture. Conscience, though something more than a mere sense of the difference between right and wrong, is not by any means a standard of moral obligation. It is the power of discriminating between what is right and what is wrong, according to the standard adopted by the individual. It is not a code of laws ; but the tribunal which decides each separate case according to law and evidence. It discharges not the legislative, but the judicial function. Nor are its decisions necessarily in accordance with abstract right, unless its statute-book be that promulgated by the Supreme Lawgiver. It never makes a relatively wrong decision ; it always interprets aright the law according to which it professes to give judgment ; but its decisions are to be trusted only when it makes divine revelation, written or unwritten, its standard. Hence we see that there is a wide, often a world-wide, difference between conscientious conduct and right conduct. Nor do the conflicting decisions of conscience, viewed in this aspect, present any valid objection against either the immutableness of moral distinctions, or the sufficiency of conscience for its true place and office in the human microcosm.

ART. VI. — *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*. Siebente Publication. *Des Bömischen Herrn, Leo's von Rozmital, Ritter-Hof-und-Pilger-Reise durch die Abendlande, 1465 – 1467*. Beschrieben von Zweien seiner Begleiter. [Library of the Literary Society in Stuttgart. Seventh Publication. Travels of the Bohemian Nobleman, Leo von Rozmital, through the Western Countries of Europe, in the Years 1465 – 1467. Described by two of his Companions.] Stuttgart. 1844.

THE Stuttgart "Literarischer Verein" is a society, formed a few years ago, for the purpose of publishing ancient German monuments which have never seen the light before, or which, having been once published, have become, in the course of time, exceedingly rare, or have fallen wholly out of the recognized circle of literature. It embraces many of the most distinguished scholars and antiquarians, who have already rendered good service to the cause of letters, by giving to the world a series of very curious and interesting documents, which illustrate the early history, manners, and modes of life of modern Europe. The plan of the society seems to be something like that of the Camden Club in England, or of the Shakspeare Society, but on a more comprehensive scale. They have already published seven volumes, each of which has been edited with great ability and learning, and all are printed in a style of uncommon excellence. The first publication appeared in 1842, and contained the "Strassburgische Chronik" of Fritsche Closener, a curious chronicle of Strasburg, written in the German language early in the fourteenth century. The second publication came out the following year, and contains a "Life of the Knight Georg von Ehingen," from a manuscript of the fifteenth century; Æneas Sylvius, "De Viris Illustribus"; Ott Ruland's "Handlungsbuch," a very curious book of accounts, kept by the head of a commercial house in the imperial city of Ulm, about the middle of the fifteenth century, which embodies a great variety of items besides those which make up a modern ledger; and the "Codex Hirsau-gensis," a valuable history of the cloister of Hirsau, containing much important information respecting the powerful houses throughout the southwestern part of Germany, in the

Middle Ages. The work is supposed to have been written at the beginning of the thirteenth century, though the manuscript from which it is printed dates as late as the beginning of the sixteenth. The other works already published are, a Latin account of a journey to the Holy Land, Arabia, and Egypt, made in the latter half of the fifteenth century, by Brother Felix Faber; letters of the Princess Elizabeth Charlotte of Orleans to the Raugravine * Louise, written between 1676 and 1722, and edited by Wolfgang Menzel; and "Die Weingartner Liederhandschrift," or the Weingarten Manuscript of old German Songs, being the first complete publication of one of the most interesting monuments extant of early German poetry. This manuscript dates at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is ornamented with colored portraits of the principal poets, drawn in the style of the close of the thirteenth century. These portraits, though stiff and rudely designed, are highly characteristic and expressive. Among them, we find the famous names of Kaiser Heinrich, Heinrich von Morungen, Liutolt von Savene, and Walther von der Vogelweide. They are all faithfully copied in the publication of the society. The seventh and last publication is that of which the title stands at the head of the present article. It contains, besides the travels of the Bohemian nobleman, the "Livländische Reimchronik," a rhymed chronicle of Livonia, of great value, particularly in relation to the early history of the manners and customs of the Livonians. It extends to nearly thirteen thousand verses.

The object of the present article, however, is to give some account of the travels, adventures, and perils of the Herr von Rozmital, as they are chronicled in the two documents contained in the first half of the society's last publication. This nobleman was the brother-in-law of the reigning king of Bohemia, George von Podiebrad, who, having been regent, was raised to the throne by popular election in 1458, was excommunicated by the pope in 1469, and closed his troubled life in 1471. The Herr von Rozmital was undoubtedly intrusted by his brother-in-law with commissions of a political nature, as the journey was undertaken when

* An extinct title belonging to some noble families on the Rhine.

the difficulties of George were at their height, and just before he fell under the ban of the Church.

But the political objects of the mission, if such there were, do not distinctly appear in either of the two records now before us. They are both occupied with details of the journey, incidental notices of the manners and customs of the countries through which the travellers passed, pious descriptions of miracles which happened, for the most part, just before the travellers reached the places where they were performed, and accounts of shrines and relics, of which they saw the most astonishing quantities in every country which they visited. The dangers of the journey were neither few nor small. In those days it was worth while to travel. The pilgrim was encompassed by marvels on every side ; and he could scarcely pass from one village to another without being compelled to fight for his life. One cannot read the history of Herr von Rozmital and his gallant company without envying them those good old times, when the exceeding difficulty of defending life made life worth the having ; when the delights of compassing sea and land had not yet been annihilated by turnpikes, railroads, steamboats, and comfortable inns ; when banditti flourished, and the age of chivalry had not gone ; when picturesque tourists, and travelling cockneys, and fastidious dandies — such as now throng every thoroughfare in the world — still lay in their rudimentary and merely possible state, undeveloped by the force of civilization ; when a man, who set out on a journey of a few hundred miles, made his will, commended his soul to God, and, if he returned in safety, sang psalms of thanksgiving, was looked upon as a wonder, remained ever after the oracle of his neighbourhood, and was made at least a burgomaster of his native city.

Of the two journals which contain the travels and adventures of the Herr von Rozmital, one is in Latin, written originally in the Bohemian, by one of the company called Schaschek, or Ssassek. This was translated into Latin about a century afterwards, by Stanislaus Pawlowski, canon, and afterwards bishop, at Olmütz. The Bohemian original is now lost. The second is in German, written by Gabriel Tetzl, a good citizen of Nuremberg, who had been invited to accompany the mission. The manuscript of this journal was discovered in 1837, and belongs to the fifteenth century.

About the same time, the editor succeeded in obtaining possession of a copy of Pawlowski's Latin translation of Ssassek, and was thus enabled to publish the two documents together. On comparing them, they are found to agree in every important particular, and to differ chiefly in relating or omitting different incidents of the journey. A few slight inaccuracies in Gabriel Tetzels story, such as substituting 1468 for 1467, the true date of the conclusion of the mission, show, in the opinion of the editor, that the Nuremberger's reminiscences were not reduced to writing until after his return ; and as he was made a burgomaster of Nuremberg in 1469, and died in 1479, there might have been, between the date of the journey and the date of the journal, an interval of nine or ten years. There is another characteristic difference between these two documents, which is worth stating. Whenever they describe a visit to a shrine or an assemblage of relics, the Bohemian gives a minute catalogue of these objects of superstitious veneration with the most solemn and unhesitating simplicity ; but Gabriel Tetzels, coming from an important commercial city, and having doubtless had his eyes opened by a more extended intercourse with the world, treats them with comparative indifference. Not that he casts any doubt upon their sacred character, — not at all ; but he dwells more lovingly on the knightly entertainments, the gold, and jewels, and precious stones, and especially on the “unspeakably rich meals” with which they were feasted from place to place.

The journal of Ssassek possesses almost an official authenticity from the circumstance, that in it are preserved all the letters of safe conduct granted to the Baron Rozmital by the monarchs through whose territories he passed. To illustrate the different styles of these two worthies, we take from each the description of the commencement of the journey. Ssassek thus begins : —

“In the year of our salvation, MCCCCLXV., the day after the festival of the blessed virgin Saint Catharine, the Lord Leo departed, and remained the first night at Pilsna (Pilsen), and there, with all his companions confessed his sins. The next night we passed at Tepla (Tepel), in the monastery ; thence we proceeded to Egra (Eger), and there stopped for the night. From Eger we went to Neustadt, thence to Paierreuth, — that town, belonging to the territory of the Marquis of Brandenburg, is situated in

Voigtland ; — from Paierreuth to Gravenberg, from Gravenberg to Nuremberg (Nuremberg). At Nuremberg we remained two days, and saw these sacred relics : first, there was shown to us the manger in which the mother of God placed the infant Jesus ; then, an arm of Saint Anna, and a tooth of Saint John the Baptist ; also, a piece of the wood of the holy cross on which Christ was crucified, and the right-hand nail with which the same was fastened to the cross. Afterwards, there was shown to us the sword of Saint Mauritius, and another sword, that of the Holy Emperor Charles, which is said to have been given to him by God from heaven, that he might use it against his enemies, the heathen ; *item*, his spurs, greaves, and boots. We saw afterwards the chains of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, who suffered for the name of God. Then we beheld the spear with which the blessed side of Christ was pierced. The priests placed our rings upon it, that whoever might be troubled with a pain or stitch in the side might have with him a certain remedy. Besides these, many other relics of the saints were shown to our lord and his companions, which are not noted down in this place. From Nuremberg we went to Hailsbruna (Heilsbronn,) a monastery under the authority of the Marquis. In that monastery, the blood of the Lord is not elevated when mass is performed ; wherefore I have not discovered. From Heilsbronn we proceeded to Anspach, where the Marquis has a palace ; in this place we remained for the space of two days. And there Johannes Zehroviensis (Johann von Kolowrat auf Zehrowitz, one of the train, of whom more hereafter) ran a tilt with Mirossius and both were thrown by each other's stroke from their horses. Frodner also tilted with one of the servants of the Marquis ; but both kept on their horses. The wife of the Margrave was a spectator, together with her maids, and illustrious and noble persons, and a multitude of men. The spectacle being over, the Marquis took my lord by the hand, led him with the rest of the company into the castle, and there honorably entertained him with dances, and other sports and spectacles."

So far the good Ssassek. Tetzal begins as follows : —

"The noble and well born lord, the Lord Leo von Rozmital, lord of Platten and Freyenberg, undertook to do a knight's journey, when were numbered after the birth of Christ a thousand four hundred, and in the six [mistake for five] and sixtieth year. Before Saint Catharine's day, he fared forth from Prague with two-and-fifty horses, and with a sumpter-wagon (*Kamerwagen*). And he took with him of the noblemen, Herr Jan Scrobitz Kollatbratt, a banneret, Herr Buyan von Schwanburck (Burian of Schwanberg), a banneret, Achacy (Achatz) Frodner,

a gentleman, Pyltepesky, a gentleman, Mirnyss, a gentleman, Pollack, a gentleman, Knysto, a gentleman; Indersyz, a gentleman; and three squires, among whom was a banneret's son; besides other chosen vassals. And he came to Greiffenberg on Saint Barbara's eve, and prayed me to ride with him to Nuremberg.

"And so, on the way, he spake to me of his journey; that he would visit all the Christian kingdoms, and all the principalities in German and foreign lands, both spiritual and secular, and especially that he would go to the Holy Sepulchre, and to the beloved Saint James (i. e. to Compostella).

"*Item.* At Nuremberg he entreated me much, through my friends, to go with him; and so I consented. He also remained several days in my house, and got himself ready, and clad himself and all his servants in red, in fine, costly velvet; he also took with him his cook, steward, and butler, and in all respects kept a princely state.

"After that, I entreated my lord that he would permit Gabriel Muffel to accompany him with a horse, and me with two.

"And so he departed one day before me to Nuremberg, and thence proceeded to Anspach. There Gabriel Muffel and I came to him.

"*Item.* At Anspach he remained several days. My lord, the Margrave Albrecht, paid him great honor, and gave him entertainment, and caused a dance to be made for him in the women's apartment. Achatz Frodner jousted with a Seckendorffer; Herr Jan Serobky and Mirusch, my lord's companions, they also jousted. We also must needs feast at the court, and he [the Margrave] paid for my lord, both for him and all that were with him at the inn [literally, ransomed him from the hostel].

"*Item.* We rode from Anspach to Feuchtwang and Keylsam (Greilsheim). My lord the Margrave appointed Wilhelm von Kersheim and Sebastian von Seckendorf to attend upon my lord; they rode with my lord, and paid for my lord's entertainment all the way through my lord the Margrave's territory.

"*Item.* Afterwards we rode into the land of Hohenlohe. There an ambush was laid to overthrow my lord; and when every one, my lord, nobleman, and page, must needs bear his arbalist on his saddle, then they thought we were too strong for them.

"And so we came to Öring (Oehringen). The 'Jung von Hohenlohe' came to my lord, and gave him much wild-boar's flesh and oats: he sent to my lord a servant, who rode with my lord to Hall and Wimpffen. A councillor presented my lord there with precious wine."

The party proceeded on their journey, through Heidelberg and the imperial city of Frankfort, to Cologne. At Cologne, says Tetzal,

“They furnished my lord with wine in vessels. The Bishop of Cologne made my lord his guest, him and all his retinue, gave him a very splendid banquet, and behaved very graciously towards him. My lord remained there several days. . . . Herr Jan Serobky Kolbart jousted with Achatz Frodner, and Gabriel Tetzal with the bishop’s steward, named Burkhart von Pfolheim. The bishop was also on the course. . . . At night, my lord invited many beautiful women, and had a dance at the council-house. . . . We saw the three holy kings, Saint Ursula’s head, with her companions’, and their bones, and many other great saints, who there lie buried, whereof it were much to write, and very many shrines, and saints who have suffered martyrdom there.

“*Item.* From Cologne we rode to Achen (Aix la Chapelle), to visit the shrine of our Blessed Lady. There the burghers of the city did my lord great honor and reverence, and sent him wine, and invited my lord to their council-house, and showed him many precious things. Also, they gave him a very costly collation which they had prepared for him. My lord bathed also in the warm bath, and they let him see many costly sacred vessels.”

Many of these vessels Gabriel proceeds to enumerate, as separate items, in the most matter-of-fact fashion. It is worth while to see how the pious Ssassek describes the visit to the same city.

“Here the three kings are buried, and Saint Ursula, with her companions, the virgins; and Saint Helena, who discovered the Holy Cross, and caused the Sepulchre to be rebuilt at Jerusalem; she also is entombed in the temple where the three kings lie buried. We were eight days at Cologne. On the second day, there were shown to us the three kings in the cathedral church, the body of Saint Veronica, and very many other relics. On the third day, we were led to the temple, where the blessed virgin Saint Ursula is buried, with eleven thousand virgins. The priests, by whom those relics were shown to us, affirmed, that, with those eleven thousand virgins, thirty-six thousand others were slain. Afterwards, we were conducted to a chapel, where single relics were enumerated, each by its own name. First, was shown to us Saint Ursula; then, a king of England, to whom Saint Ursula had been betrothed; the father and mother of the same king, whom Saint Ursula had converted to the Christian

religion; afterwards, an Æthiopian woman, the daughter of a certain heathen king; and very many other heads, hairs, legs, and arms, all of which it would be a great labor to enumerate one by one.

“On the fourth day, my lord’s servants jousted; Johannes Zehroviensis with Frodner, and Tacelius a Craffenberg (which is the Latin for our friend Tetzal) with one belonging to the retinue of the Bishop of Cologne. In the collision neither of them fell from his horse. On the day when these spectacles were exhibited, my lord gave orders to assemble the illustrious matrons and maidens. They came together in great numbers, and I saw many in that banquet, if I ever did anywhere. The feast was celebrated with various sports and dances. In the mean time, the matrons and the maids go to my lord, and humbly pray him, in the name of the bishop, that my lord, for the sake of the bishop, would lead down a dance with his companions after the manner of his country. My lord consenting, and beginning to lead the dance, four-and-twenty young men, each in complete armor, and holding torches in their hands, danced before him. These armed dancers were preceded by four-and-twenty others, each also bearing a torch in his hands. The dances being finished, various offerings of food and drink were brought to my lord. Then my lord, with his companions, was honorably conducted by the maids and matrons, even to his inn.”

Thus even the simple-hearted Bohemian could not resist the temptation to chronicle the merry-makings at Cologne, after he had satisfied his conscience by describing the relics of the saints; while the more carnal-minded Gabriel Tetzal, having, according to his nature, first revelled in the recollection of the jousting and good cheer, was evidently a little pricked in conscience until he had set down, in his commercial, summary way, the saintly items of the account.

It would be pleasant to accompany our travellers through every step of their progress, for the whole journey abounds in quaint and whimsical incidents, highly characteristic of the age; but we must hasten forward on the road to Brussels, where they found the Duke of Burgundy. There they saw excellent pictures, ascended the tower and had a noble view of the city, and were most honorable entertained. The son of the old Duke was absent on a military enterprise; and our travellers were entreated to remain until his return. The arrival of the young prince was celebrated with equestrian and other chivalrous games, in which Johannes Zehroviensis took

part with his usual success. Johannes seems to have been the sturdiest champion of all the company ; whenever there was any jousting, tilting, wrestling, or real fighting to be done, Johannes was sure to have a hand in the business, and generally was more than a match for any antagonist that might be pitted against him. On this occasion, he was put up to wrestle with a brawny fellow, whose equal was not to be found in all the Duke of Burgundy's dominions. A great concourse of the most illustrious persons, including matrons and damsels, was drawn together to witness the spectacle. Johannes made little ado, and thrice threw his adversary as fast as he could get up. The spectators could scarcely believe their eyes ; and the Duke was so astonished, that he sent for Johannes, clad with the thorax only, just as he had wrestled, and scrutinized his whole body, feeling all his limbs, his feet, and his hands, and wondering greatly that his wrestler was beaten.

This scene so warmed up the courage of our pious Bohemian, Ssassek, that he approached the prince and thus addressed him : " Most illustrious prince, I entreat your Highness to assign me an adversary whom your Highness may judge to be my equal." We must give the result in the very words of our honest friend.

" When this was heard, the prince ordered some one to be sent for who should wrestle with me. We set to, and I at first threw him. But when, by the Duke's order, I closed with him a second time, I was thrown to the ground so hard that I thought the devil had got me. The wrestling-match being over, the Duke ordered wine and sweetmeats to be brought, and such a quantity was scattered over the pavement as scarcely could have been bought for many gold pieces. But the princesses gave me so much, that I got back with difficulty to the hostel ; for I was very drunk."

These were followed up by other sports and festivities. Of one of the feasts given by the Duke of Burgundy, Tetzal says, " It was the most costly and splendid that I have ever eaten in all my days." But it will not do thus to linger on the way. They passed through Ghent and Bruges, and at length arrived at Calais, on their way to England. Thence they put to sea, but were driven back and detained three days by a violent storm. Tetzal says, " One day God gave us the luck that we had a good wind, and that the master of the

ship was willing to proceed, and had already taken the ship out of port. Then my lord must needs sit in a small boat, and go out to the large vessel. Then there fell upon us the mightiest wind, that we were well-nigh drowned, and with great pains we got to the great ship. And had not Jan and Gabriel Tetzal done as they did, then would the Lord Leo, when he would go on board the great ship, have been drowned." However, they proceeded to cross the channel, and saw from a distance the "high, chalky hills" of England. "And the sea afflicted my lord and his companions so much, that they lay in the ship as if they were dead." They landed at Sandwich, and journeyed on to Canterbury, where they hastened to pay their respects at the shrine of Saint Thomas à Becket, "who," according to Ssassek, "was slain in that church, because he firmly resisted the unjust laws which King Henry enacted against the liberty of the Catholic church." The following are only a part of the relics they saw in that once famous sanctuary :—

"First, we saw the head-band of the Blessed Virgin, a piece of Christ's garment, and three thorns from his crown. Then we saw the vestment of Saint Thomas, and his brain, and the blood of Saint Thomas and of Saint John, the Apostles. We saw also the sword with which Saint Thomas of Canterbury was beheaded, the hair of the mother of God, and a part of the Sepulchre. There was also shown to us a part of the shoulder of the blessed Simeon, who bore Christ in his arms, the head of the blessed Lustrabena, one leg of Saint George, a piece of the body and the bones of Saint Laurence, a leg of the bishop St. Romanus, the cup of Saint Thomas, which he had been accustomed to use in administering the sacrament at Canterbury, a leg of the virgin Milda, a leg of the virgin Euduarda. We also saw a tooth of John the Baptist, a portion of the cross of the Apostles Peter and Andrew, a tooth and a finger of Stephen the Martyr, bones of the virgin Catharine, and oil from her sepulchre, which is said to flow even to this day, hair of the blessed Mary Magdalene, a tooth of Saint Benedict, a finger of Saint Urban, the lips of one of the infants slain by Herod, bones of the blessed Clement, bones of Saint Vincent. Very many other things were also shown to us, which are not set down by me in this place."

This Canterbury pilgrimage took place sixty-five years after the death of Chaucer. Having satisfied their pious curiosity, our wayfarers proceeded to London. Ssassek

says, "Though the kingdom is of small extent, it is exceedingly populous, and abounds in beautiful women and maids, whom we gazed upon when my lord was invited by the king to dinner." The hints of manners, and sketches of national peculiarities, which our travellers give in the portions of their journal occupied with England, are quite curious and entertaining. It was in the reign of the showy and pleasure-loving monarch, Edward the Fourth, and his second wife, the lady Elizabeth Woodville, that this visit was made. The first objects described by the Bohemian journalizer are of course the relics ; but he found so many of them in London, that he fairly gave up the attempt to record them all, in despair. Among the customs of the people which attracted his particular attention, one was, that, on the arrival of a distinguished stranger from foreign parts, maids and matrons went to the inn, and welcomed him with gifts ; another, that, when guests arrived at an inn, the hostess, with all her family, went out to meet and receive them, and the guests were required to kiss them all ; and this among the English was the same as shaking hands among other nations. "In no region," honestly adds our authority, "were we held in such honor as there." Erasmus, who was born the very year that Ssassek returned home, describes a similar custom as prevailing in England in his time, and bestows upon it his most decided approbation. "Our long hair," says Ssassek, "was a great astonishment to them ; for they declared that they had never seen any who excelled us in the length and beauty of the hair ; and they could by no means be made to believe that it was a natural growth, but they said it must have been stuck on with pitch. And whenever any of us thus long-haired appeared in public, he had more people to stare at him than if some strange animal had been exhibited." With regard to the entertainments, the Bohemian merely says, "My lord was kindly and magnificently treated, and all his companions, especially Schasco (Ssassek), both in the royal palace and elsewhere." For further information on these points, we must have recourse to Gabriel Tetzel :—

"Once upon a day," says he, "the king ordered us to be bidden to the court. Then the queen went in the morning from childbed to the church, with a splendid procession, with many of the priesthood, who bore the sacred vessels, and many scholars, who chanted, and all bore blazing torches. Thereafter came a

great troop of women and virgins, from the country and from London, who had been bidden. Then came a great number of trumpeters, and pipers, and others, players on stringed instruments. Then the king's musicians, about two-and-forty, who sang stately chants. Then about four-and-twenty heralds and pursuivants. Then about sixty earls and knights. After these went the queen. Two dukes preceded. A canopy was borne above her. After her followed her mother, and maidens and women, about sixty. And so she heard an office chanted, and when she had entered the church with the same procession, she returned to her palace. And all who had gone in the procession were bidden to remain to the banquet; and they were seated, women and men, spiritual and temporal, each according to his condition, four great halls full.

"And so they gave my lord, and his companions, and the noblest lords, an especial banquet in the hall and at the tables, where the king was wont to feast with his court; and the king's most powerful earl was commanded to sit at the king's table, in the king's seat, in his stead. And my lord also sat at the same table, two steps lower down, and no one beside sat at that table. And all the honor which was wont to be paid the king, with carving and offering of wine, and presenting of the viands, in all respects as if the king himself were seated there, was done to the earl in the king's stead, and to my lord, with so much splendor that what was consumed there surpasses belief.

"And while we feasted, the king gave largess to all the trumpeters, pipers, and players; and to the heralds alone he gave four hundred nobles. And all whom he had given largess to came to the tables and proclaimed aloud what the king had given to them. When my lord had now feasted with the earl, he led my lord with all his retinue into a hall most richly adorned, where was the queen, and she was just about to banquet. And so he placed my lord and his companions in a recess, that he might behold the sumptuousness.

"And so the queen sat down on a costly golden seat, at a table alone. The queen's mother and the king's sister must needs stand far down. And when the queen spoke with her mother, or with the king's sister, they always knelt before her, until the queen took water. And when the first dish had been set before her, then the queen's mother and the king's sister also sat down. And her women and maids, and all who served the queen at table, were all of powerful earls' families, and all must kneel as long as she ate. And she ate nigh three hours, and of many costly viands, which were set before her, and before her mother and the rest, whereof much might be written; and every one was still,

not a word spoken. My lord with his companions stood ever in the recess and looked on.

"After the banquet, there began a dance. The queen remained sitting on her chair. Her mother kneeled before her; at times, she bade her arise. Then the king's sister danced a stately dance with two dukes, and the stately reverences which were made to the queen were such as I have never elsewhere seen paid by such surpassingly beautiful damsels. Among them were eight duchesses, and about thirty countesses, and all the rest the daughters of mighty men. After the dance, the king's musicians were bidden to enter, and were commanded to sing. We also heard them when the king heard mass in his chapel, since my lord and his companions were admitted; and I think that there are no better singers in the world. Then the king permitted us to see his sacred vessels, and many saints who lie in London. And especially we saw a stone which was brought from the Mount of Olives, whereon was a footprint of our Lord, and a girdle and ring of our Lady, and many other sacred things.

"Afterwards, two earls invited my lord with his companions to their house. They gave us an unspeakably costly banquet, about sixty, according to their custom. There we saw the most sumptuous tapestries. Afterwards, my lord invited many earls and gentlemen to his house, and gave them a feast in the Bohemian fashion. They thought it very strange. My lord armed himself, and would fain have jousted with his companions; but the king would not permit it. And so my Lord Leo, Lord Frodner, and Gabriel Tetzels bestowed all their harness and steeds upon the king, and left all their jousting gear in England. After this, my lord took leave of the king, and the king paid for my lord at the hostel, and we were there about forty days."

After these festivities in London were over, our pilgrims visited other places in England, under the conduct of a guide whom the king had granted them, "that they might see the kingdom." It is impossible to describe the whole journey; but we must copy a few sentences from Gabriel Tetzels description of their visit to the Duke of Clarence, at Salisbury.

"He received my lord very joyfully, and paid him great honor and reverence. We remained there over Palm-Sunday, and beheld there the most splendid procession, how our Lord rode into Jerusalem. And the Duke himself went in the procession, and took my lord with him. After the service, my lord, with his companions, was bidden to a feast at court; and the Duke and my lord ate together, and my lord's vassals with the counts and gentlemen. There they gave us an unspeakably costly ban-

quet, and we ate for about three hours ; and at the banquet they gave us a dish that should be fish, which was roasted, and formed like a duck. It has his wings, his feathers, his neck, his feet, and layeth eggs, and tasteth like a wild duck. This we were made to eat for a fish ; but in my mouth it was flesh ; and they say that it should be fish, because it grows first out of a worm in the sea ; and when it becomes great, it acquires a form like a duck, and lays eggs ; but it never hatches the same eggs, and is not itself produced therefrom, and seeks its food always in the sea, and not on the land. Therefore should it be a fish."

These curious birds are noticed by Ssassek. He says they are produced in the sea, and have no food except the air. From Salisbury they proceeded to Poole, called by Ssassek, Polla, and by Tetzal, Pülle, whence they embarked for Brittany. They not only had a stormy passage, but were attacked and captured by pirates, who, however, after detaining them half a day, and having learned the rank of their prisoners, and how many powerful kings and princes were their protectors, allowed them to continue the voyage. They were obliged to cast anchor at the isle of Guernsey, where they remained twelve days, but found nothing to buy for man or beast. Setting sail from Guernsey, they encountered a storm, which carried away the mast of the ship. They had much trouble with the horses, especially as they had provided themselves, when they left England, with food and drink, and fodder, only for four days, that being the time the passage would have occupied with a fair wind. After seventeen days of incredible hardship, they reached St. Malo, one of the principal cities in Brittany. From St. Malo they proceeded to Nantes, where they found the Duke of Brittany, Francis the Second, "who is a very handsome man. He paid my lord great honor, and showed my lord his wife with all her maids, who were extraordinarily beautiful, and sent my lord food and drink every day to the inn."

Thence they visited René of Anjou, the king of Sicily, whom they found in a "fair city, called Symell" (Saumur) ; and then proceeded to Orleans, visiting Louis the Eleventh, the king of France, whom they found at a small town not far from Saumur. They were most kindly received by him, and by the queen, "who, with all her maids, embraced my lord in her arms, and each one kissed

him on the mouth. So the king had ordered, and so would he have it. And she gave her hand to all his servants ; and the queen and her maids demeaned themselves very friendlyly towards my lord and his attendants. Afterwards, the king commanded a very sumptuous banquet to be prepared for my lord and his companions. And the splendid display of costly goblets and silver cups, and of sumptuous viands, and of mighty counts and lords who served at table, no man would believe."

Gabriel Tetzal gives some amusing particulars of the character and habits of the king ; but we must hurry forward with our travellers into Spain, which they entered by way of Biscay, towards the end of the month of June. This was thirty years before Ferdinand and Isabella had united the crowns of Castile and Aragon, and received from the pope the title of Catholic for having expelled the Moors. They pursued their journey, passing over high and difficult mountains, where "neither houses, men, nor cattle were to be seen" ; crossing rivers, where they had to fight their way through hostile Christians, Jews, and heathen ; enduring excessive heat ; their horses sickening, and "my lord's best stallion dying" ; until at length they arrived at Burgos. "The citizens," says Gabriel, "paid my lord great honor in that city, and gave him precious wine and sweetmeats ; and made for my lord, in the public square in the midst of the city, a baiting with wild bulls." Both Ssassek and Tetzal describe the bull-fight in nearly the same terms as would be used at the present day. They saw here, as elsewhere, many sacred relics ; but what especially excited their wonder was a crucifix in a church about a bow-shot from the city. The crucifix had a body upon it, of the stature of a tall man. The hair and nails of the body grew, and when the limbs were touched, they moved. It was made neither of wood nor of stone, and the body had in every respect the figure of a dead man. No man knew whence this wonderful crucifix was obtained ; according to the priests, it had been found at sea, about five hundred years before, by some Spanish sailors, who fell in with a galleon, on board which the body had been placed. Seeing it at a distance, they supposed it to be a pirate craft belonging to the Catalonians ("who," adds Ssassek, "although they are of the Christian faith, are great pirates notwithstanding, and are the terror of all") ; and they prepared for resistance. They cautiously approached

the ship, and seeing no one on board, thought at first it was a trick. They then sent a part of their crew in a small boat, who at last ventured into the galleon, but found only the cross and the body, which they carried with them to Burgos. According to Ssassek, the cross had wrought miracles two hundred years before, but had then wholly ceased its wonder-working agency.

Gabriel Tetzal is, for once, more credulous than the Bohemian. He gives some further particulars of the history of the cross, and states, that, according to the greatest masters, Nicodemus prayed the Lord, when he took him from the cross, that he might be permitted to make a cross like that on which the Lord was crucified ; that the crucifix appeared to him in the night, and he had kept it a long time in his possession, and always prayed before it. He further declares, that, on the day when he (Tetzal) saw the crucifix, *two* great miracles were performed. A child that had been dead two days, and a child that had broken both its legs, and a man that had St. Anthony's fire, were all made fresh and sound on that day.

There were many heathen in and round Burgos. "In the city," says Gabriel, "there is a mighty count, who asked my lord to his house, and also summoned many beautiful maids and women, who were very gorgeously clad in the heathen or Turkish fashion ; and the feast was arranged in every respect, with drinks and viands, after the manner of the heathen. The women and damsels danced a very stately dance according to the heathen way ; and they are all brown women, with black eyes, and eat and drink little, and like to see wayfarers, and are fond of Germans."

Proceeding on their journey from Burgos, they encountered many difficulties from the distracted state of the country, which was then torn by civil war. A bloody strife was waging between Henry the Fourth of Castile, and his younger brother, Don Alfonso. To visit the king, they

"Must ride where were nothing but heathen, over huge mountains, in great heat. And so we rode many days' journey ; and when we reached a market-place or village, they would not give us entertainment, but we were forced to remain in the fields in the open air. And if we would buy drink, or bread, or any thing else, we must give money for it beforehand ; and then they gave us a wine, that was brought over the mountains on mules,

in goat-skins, and was lukewarm. Would we have bread, they gave us meal weighed by the pound, and we poured water on it, and made it into cakes, and baked it in the hot ashes. Would we have any thing for the horses to eat, we must go out ourselves and cut it, and bring it in ; and if there was grain, we must pay dearly for it. If we would have flesh, nothing was to be found but goats' flesh, and we must skin and dress them ourselves, and buy every thing needful to cook them ; so that I think that the gypsies everywhere are much better kept than we were in that country. One very seldom finds hens, eggs, milk, cheese, or lard ; for they have no cows, and seldom eat flesh, and eat nothing but the fruits.

" In Spain, when a resident nobleman rides over the land, he rides on a mule, and all his servants, often as many as thirty or forty, must run on foot as fast as their lord rides, often twelve or fourteen [German] miles (each equal to four English miles) in a day, and some of the servants run before him. And then, when he will eat, or take up his quarters for the night, they cook for him, and prepare for him to eat ; and what is left by their lord, the attendants must needs therewith be content. And one finds among them many a servant who runs day in and day out, so that he never walks. They are a folk that may well bear hunger and labor. And so we came many days' journey, with sore hardship and great uproar, which we must needs have with them. We must often defend us, life and limb, when we knew well that they lay in wait for us, and that they would fain have killed us all for our goods. And so we drew on, through a horrible waste and wilderness, to a count who held not with the old king, but with the younger. In those times, the two brothers were against one another, and either brother would be king in Spain, and some of the land held with the old king, and some with the young ; and there was much discord and war. And so we rode to a count who was with the young king. He was sore wroth, that my lord, without leave, had ridden into his land ; he conducted my lord to a knight who held with the old king. The same knight conducted my lord to a village, a mile away from a city which is called Gabryn, where was at the time the king of Spain. And so my lord tarried five days in the village, and sent the Lords Jan (Johannes), Frodner, Pittipeski, Muffel, and me to the king, that we should give the king to know of my lord's journey, and that he would also visit his kingdom, and prayed him for safe conduct. The king forthwith admitted us unto him, and he sat on the ground upon carpets, in the heathen fashion, and gave all of us his hand, and heard our prayer, and was joyful for my lord's coming, and said my lord must have patience in the village,

for it was full in the town, so that he could not lodge him there. But for love of my lord, he would journey to another city, four miles from Gabryn, and there would admit my lord to him, and graciously hear him. And he sent to my lord a knight, who should conduct him into the same city. And as the king was out of the city, the knight led my lord into the king's hall, which is exceeding sumptuously built; there the king had commanded a costly banquet to be prepared for my lord, and we tarried there two days. And a mighty bishop in the city, who was very powerful with the king, also bade my lord to his house, and did him very great honor."

At length, with much difficulty and many hardships, they reached Olmedo, where the king was then stationed. Here they were as well received by the king as, under existing circumstances, could reasonably have been expected. Our old friend, Johannes Zehroviensis, had a wrestling-match with a Spaniard, in the presence of three bishops and a large concourse of people. Johannes had his usual good-luck, threw his opponent, and sat on him when he was down; whereat the bishops and all the assembly marvelled, for their man was never beaten before. "The king," says Ssassek, "being informed of this affair, sent the same bishops and several knights to my lord, begging him to command Johannes to repeat the contest with another wrestler. Johannes refusing, my lord, unwilling that the bishops should be disappointed, commanded him to wrestle again with the same man. The wrestler laid Johannes very easily on the ground. The king, the bishops, and a great many people were present as spectators, and exulting with great joy, congratulated him for the victory."

Johannes was compelled to acknowledge, that he had never seen such a man as this Spaniard. Among other exploits, he laid his hand on the shoulder of Johannes, and with closed feet leaped over him, although the Spaniard was a very short man. Tetzal, speaking of the same adventure, says: "Herr Jan (Johannes) would not wrestle with him more, for he was much too strong for him, and was a short, thick man."

On the whole, our travellers formed quite an unfavorable opinion of Olmedo and its inhabitants.

"While we were with the king and his court," says Tetzal, "we had a great deal of uproar with the heathen, and must needs often defend both life and limb. Once they would

enter forcibly my lord's chamber; but we drove them out. Then arose a great tumult, and more than four hundred of them came to my lord's inn, and we drew our crossbows, and held the house against them with force; and they wounded some of our companions, and we wounded some of them. But with their bucklers they were too nimble for us."

Here we must accuse our friend Tetzal of a slight want of candor. The Olmedans were not quite so much to blame as he would make it appear. Honest Ssassek, who has as low an opinion of them as Tetzal, amidst the hard things he says, mentions a little incident suppressed by Gabriel, which puts the transaction in a very different light.

"Of this city," says he, "I have nothing else to write, save that it is inhabited by men worse than the very heathen; for when the priest elevates the body of our Lord in the mass, no one falls on his knees, but they remain standing like brute beasts. They lead an impure and Sodomitical life, so that I should be ashamed to mention their crimes. They even make a boast, that no city like it is found in all Spain, and I can easily believe the thing to be so. . . . Among them dwell many pagans, who are called Saracens; but which are the better, the pagans or the Christians, I could not easily decide.

"This insult, also, was put upon us. Johannes Zehroviensis, toying with a damsel at the inn, laid his hand upon her bosom, which a Spaniard seeing, swore at him in his own tongue; but we did not understand it. Johannes came up to him, gave him a blow, and tumbled him out of the hostel. Two hours afterwards, he attacked the house with about four hundred men whom he had collected, intending to slay us. The king, having heard of what had been done, immediately sent some noblemen to quell the tumult."

Ssassek describes a singular mode of inflicting the punishment of death, which he himself witnessed. The doomed man was placed upon a column, and shot at with arrows. The mark was placed on his right breast, and he who hit the nearest received twenty-four maravedis; he who missed was compelled to pay a gold piece. The money was afterwards spent in eating and drinking. "Whoever desires it," says he, "has permission to shoot; and it is discreditable to no one, but rather to his honor. I saw many miss the mark, and they were all required to pay down each a gold piece."

From Olmedo they proposed to visit the king's rival,

Don Alfonso ; but finding it impossible, on account of the displeasure which their visit to the king had excited in the prince's mind, they made the best of their way into Portugal. They passed through Salamanca, and, in speaking of the University, Gabriel says, "It is supposed there are not more learned people in Christendom than in that city." On entering Portugal, the country and the people seemed to them to be wretchedly poor ; "they found nothing to eat or drink for man or beast." There were no roads ; and it often happened that no traveller was seen for four or five years. The people dwelt in caves among the mountains, or under ground, and seldom went out, especially in the middle of the day, on account of the heat ; but labored and transacted their business mostly by night. They lived chiefly on fruits, and drank no wine. Our travellers suffered much from fatigue and hunger until they reached the city of Braga, "where," says Tetzels, "there is a powerful bishop, the friend of the king of Portugal. He paid great honor to my lord, and sent to my lord to the hostel enough of all that we needed, and sent to my lord a person to conduct him to Saint James." Ssassek states, that they found the king of Portugal at Braga, and that Leo had brought letters to him from his sister, the wife of the emperor, written by her own hand.

"In the city," says Gabriel, "my lord lost his cook ; and he did not come to us until we were at Saint James. Then we suffered much hardship, and ourselves must needs cook ; and often it came to such a pass, that we must, perforce, make our lodging under a tree in the open field, and secure our horses near us, like the gypsies. One ran and brought a sheep ; another must skin it ; some made the fire and cooked ; some cut grass for the horses ; my lord doing just like all the rest. And verily we had a hard and miserable life of it, until we came in three days to Saint James."

One of the principal objects of their pious pilgrimage was to visit Saint James of Compostella. But the church at this time was held in close siege, and it was with extreme difficulty that they obtained leave to enter and pay their devotions, of which Tetzels gives a very curious and interesting account ; but we have not space left to transfer it to our pages. From Saint James they went to Finisterre, which they call the *Finster Stern*, or the Black Star. This is the extreme western point of Portugal. The time of their visit

was more than thirty years before the voyage of Columbus and the discovery of the New World. "There," says Tetzal, "one sees nothing beyond, save the sky and sea; and they say that the sea is so stormy that no man may voyage over it; and no man knows what there may be beyond it. And it was told to us, that some had desired to find out what was beyond, and had fared forth with galleys and ships; but no one had ever returned." Ssassek says, that "nothing is to be seen beyond, but the waves and the sea, the end whereof God only knows." According to Tetzal, they saw the king again at Evora, whither he had fled from the pestilence; and the letters of the empress were delivered to him there. At an interview with the king at Braga, according to Ssassek, the following scene took place. The king had made a very complimentary speech, and promised to grant him whatever he would ask. The baron returned thanks for so great an honor, and entreated the king to bestow upon him two Æthiopians.

"The brother of the king, who was standing by, hearing the request, burst into a loud laugh, and said, 'Friend, what you ask for is of no importance; ask for something more valuable and more creditable than those Æthiopians. But since that is the only thing you request, I beseech you add to them a third gift from me; to wit, a monkey; and so you will return richly endowed to your country. Perhaps,' said he, 'you have no negroes and monkeys in your regions, and that is the reason you have asked for them before all other things?' When my lord said they were rarely seen there; 'Yet we,' replied the Duke, 'have great store of those things. The king here, my brother, possesses three cities in Africa, and his custom is to lead an army thither every year; and he never returns from an expedition, however slight, without bringing a hundred thousand or more Æthiopians, of every age and sex, and they are all sold like cattle; for the custom is for men to come together from other regions to buy them, and the king derives a larger income from the sale of them than from all the revenues of his kingdom. A little negro (*parvulus Æthiops*) fetches twelve or thirteen gold pieces of Portugal; but a grown-up one a much higher price.'

"And there is this custom," continues the journalizer, "that whoever has obtained a stout negro, and fit for labor, causes him to be baptized, and cannot sell him or alienate him, except he make him a free gift to a friend. But as long as the negro remains unbaptized, he has the right to sell him for as much as he can get."

They encountered many dangers on their return. They passed through the territory held by the pretender to the throne of Castile, through Merida, to Toledo ; thence, by way of Madrid, then a place of small importance, into Aragon. At Saragossa, they were received by King John the Second ; thence they journeyed through Catalonia, fighting their way to Barcelona. They passed on, by way of Perpignan, Montpellier, Nismes, and other cities, to Milan, where they were hospitably entertained by the magnificent duke, Galeazzo Maria. They visited Verona and Venice ; in the latter city, they were present at an assembly of the senate, and witnessed the method of voting. Thence they proceeded to Gratz, where the emperor, Frederic the Fourth, was then holding his court. Here they jousted ; but having left their harness in England, they were obliged to equip themselves in borrowed armor. They visited the empress at Neustadt, where they passed eight days in sports and revelry. The negroes and the monkeys, which they had brought from Portugal, gave the empress great delight. Leaving the empress, they experienced great difficulty from the hostile disposition of the king of Hungary ; but at length they reached Prague in safety, where they were received with joy and festivities, and were loaded with all the honors due to men who had performed such distant and perilous journeys.

Soon afterwards, Gabriel Tetzels returned to Nuremberg, where, as we have said, history informs us he was held in such high estimation, that he was raised in the following year to the dignity of burgomaster. The subsequent fate of Johannes Zehroviensis is involved in impenetrable obscurity ; perhaps his overthrow by the short, thick man in Spain broke his heart ; at any rate, his triumph appears to have ended there.

We must now take leave, however reluctantly, of this pleasant and worshipful company, with the single remark, that we have rarely met with a book which, by its quaint and picturesque simplicity, set before us the men and the manners of a past age so vividly and so truthfully as this.

ART. VII. — *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.*
New York : Wiley & Putnam. 1845. 12mo. pp. 291.

THIS is one of the most striking and ingenious scientific romances that we have ever read. The writer of it is a bold man ; he has undertaken to give a hypothetical history of creation, beginning, as the title-pages say, at the earliest period, and coming down to the present day. It is not quite so authentic as that of Moses, nor is it written with such an air of simplicity and confidence as the narrative of the Jewish historian ; but it is much longer, and goes into a far greater variety of interesting particulars. It contradicts the Jewish cosmogony in a few particulars, and is at variance with probability and the ordinary laws of human reasoning in many others. But the rather liberal rules of interpretation, which it is now the fashion to apply to the first chapter of Genesis, will relieve the reader from any scruples on the former account ; and as to the latter, in these days of scientific quackery, it would be quite too harsh to make any great complaint about such peccadilloes. The writer has taken up almost every questionable fact and startling hypothesis, that have been promulgated by proficients or pretenders in science during the present century, except animal magnetism ; and for this omission we have reason to be thankful. The nebular hypothesis, Laplace's or Compté's theory of planets *shelled off* from the sun, spontaneous generation, — some of these vagaries, we admit, are of much older date than the year 1800, — the Macleay system, dogs³ playing dominoes, negroes born of white parents, materialism, phrenology, — he adopts them all, and makes them play an important part in his own magnificent theory, to the exclusion, in a great degree, of the well-accredited facts and established doctrines of science.

We speak lightly of the author's plan, as one can hardly fail to do of a scheme so magnificent, and going apparently so far beyond the ordinary sources of information and the range of the human intellect. But the execution of the work is of so high an order, as fairly to challenge attention and respect. The writer, who has not chosen to give his name to the world, is evidently a man of great ingenuity and correct taste, a master of style, a plausible, though not a pro-

found, reasoner, and having quite a general, but superficial, acquaintance with the sciences. His materials are arranged with admirable method, the illustrations are copious and interesting, the transitions are skilfully managed, and the several portions of the theory are so well fitted to each other, and form such a round and perfect whole, that it seems a pity to subject it to severe analysis and searching criticism. It is a very pleasant hypothesis, set forth in a most agreeable manner; and though it contains many objectionable features, these are cautiously veiled and kept in the background, and the reader is seduced into accepting most of the conclusions, before he is aware of their true character and tendency.

Before a just opinion can be formed of the correctness of the writer's views, it is necessary to take to pieces this skilful fabric, and to bring the parts together in a different connection and with greater succinctness, following out each doctrine to its inevitable, but most remote, conclusions, so as to obtain a just idea of the position in which we should be placed by the acceptance of the theory as a whole. For obvious reasons, the author has not chosen to give a general summary of his views, or to mention explicitly all the inferences that may be drawn from them. He merely puts the reader upon the track, indicating its general direction, and leaving it for him to find out what objects will be encountered by the way, and where the journey will end. We propose to finish the work that is thus left incomplete, and to set forth the doctrine in its plainest terms. We would reduce the theory at once to its narrowest compass and simplest expression; but at the same time, would incorporate into it every doctrine which properly belongs to it, and follow out each hypothesis to its remote, though necessary, inferences and conclusions. To this end, it is requisite to separate, as far as possible, the doctrines themselves from the evidence adduced in support of them; and to consider the former as a whole, before proceeding to discuss the cogency of the latter. The following may be taken as the most concise abstract that we can form of the history of the creation, according to this author.

In the beginning — we use this word in a kind of preterperfect sense — in the *very* beginning of things, immense portions of infinite space were filled with finely diffused nebulous matter, heated to an intensity that is altogether inconceivable. The particles of this “fire mist,” as it is appro-

priately called, were the true *primordia rerum*, — the elements of the universe, — the principles of all the forms of inorganic matter and all organic things. At the outset, the Creator endowed these particles with certain qualities and capacities, and then stood aside from his work, as there was nothing farther for him to do. The subsequent progress of creation is only the successive *development*, upon mechanical and necessary principles, and as fast as proper occasions were offered, of these qualities thus made inherent in the primitive constitution of matter. The atoms thus marvellously endowed have gone on, without any further aid from Almighty power, to form suns, and astral systems, and planets with their satellites, and worlds tenanted by successive generations and races of vegetable and animal things. And this work of creation, or rather of development, is still in progress all around us, and in all its various stages, though in the portion most directly exposed to the observation of man it is far advanced towards perfection. Upon this earth, the unaided action of these atoms is still evolving all the phenomena of generation, progress, and decay, of vegetable and animal life, of instinct and of mind. In the abyss of space, it is also forming new suns, and solar systems, and worlds that are to pass through the same stages and wonderful transformations to which our own planet has already been subjected. All that has occurred with respect to this earth, and the system of which it forms a part, is but a type of what is constantly going on in the countless other systems of stars that people the firmament.

The first stage in the history of these fiery particles is the formation among them, in some unaccountable way, of nuclei, or centres of aggregation, like the bright points that are now visible in some of the nebulae of the heavens. As soon as these centres are formed, gravity, one of the original principles of matter, begins to act, and the atoms in all the neighbouring parts of space are attracted towards the nucleus and heaped upon it. In this manner, a central sun of vast dimensions is formed, which soon assumes a motion of rotation upon its axis from the general law which gives a circular movement to all fluids that are drawn towards a common centre. The centrifugal force thus generated tends to throw off matter from the equatorial regions of the great orb, but is restrained by the attraction of gravitation, which would

prevent any separation of the parts, if the sun itself did not now begin to cool down, and consequently to shrink in size. Under this cooling process, a crust is formed upon the surface, too rigid to yield to the force of gravity, and the parts within, continuing to shrink, separate from this envelope ; so that there is now a central orb, revolving more rapidly from its greater density and smaller diameter, and surrounded by an exterior shell, or band, like Saturn's ring, rotating at its original speed. As we cannot suppose that the ring would usually be of uniform thickness and strength, it eventually breaks up into fragments, the larger of which attracts the smaller into itself, and the whole is formed by its revolving motion into an oblate spheroid circling round the contracted sun in the centre. In this manner, the planet Uranus was shelled off from our sun, which originally filled the whole of the vast sphere, of which the distance from Uranus to the centre of the present sun is but the radius. The planet itself, by the same process of cooling, shrinking, and thus forming exterior rings, threw off successively all its six satellites ; and the sun, also, continuing to contract from the loss of heat, formed another ring, and thus constituted the planet Saturn. In this way were formed successively all the planets and satellites of the present solar system. The original diameter of our earth was equal, of course, to the present diameter of the moon's orbit. In the case of Saturn, the two rings formed around it happened to be of unusual homogeneity and equal thickness, so that they were not broken up, but have preserved their primitive shape. A ring was formed from the sun in the space between the present orbits of Mars and Jupiter ; but when it was broken up, the fragments did not congregate into one, but spherified separately, so as to form the four smaller planets which now revolve in that opening.

Having thus explained the *genesis* of the solar system, we come down to the history of our own earth, since it shelled off the ring which formed our moon. Continuing to cool down and shrink, a thin but rigid crust of primary rocks, still bearing marks of the intense heat to which they have been subjected, was formed upon its surface ; and then the vapors, with which the atmosphere had been charged, were condensed, and formed seas, which covered the whole, or the

greater part, of the earth's rind. The continual agitation of these waters, and their high temperature, as they were still nearly at the boiling point, disintegrated and wore down many of these rocks, and, in the lapse of ages, deposited their remains, in thick layers of sand and mud, at the bottom of the seas. Baked by the heat from beneath, and pressed by the weight of superincumbent waters, these layers slowly hardened into stratified rocks. Forms of vegetable and animal life, though only of the lowest type, the origin of which is to be explained hereafter, now began to appear. Some sea-plants, zoöphytes, infusory animalcules, and a few of the molluscous tribe, all low down in the order of being, but important from their immense numbers and joint action, commenced their work of absorbing the carbonic acid with which the air was overcharged, and building up vast piers and mounds of stone from their own remains. Meanwhile, the internal fires of the earth occasionally broke through the rocky crust that imprisoned them, threw up liquid primitive rock through the rents, and distorted and tilted up the strata that had been formed above.

We may remark, in passing, that the chronology of the events of which we now speak is not very accurately determined ; the only thing certain about it is, that a series of ages, so protracted that the imagination cannot conceive their number, elapsed between the successive epochs in the history of the earth's crust. Some of the convulsions caused by the fiery mass within threw up rock above the surface of the waters, and thus the dry land began to appear. Islands were formed, and immediately land-plants made their appearance, of excessive luxuriance, under the tropical temperature that still prevailed all over the globe, and began their office of absorbing carbon, and storing it up for future use. Land-animals as yet were not, for the excess of carbonic acid in the atmosphere rendered it incapable of supporting animal life. But the richness of this island vegetation gradually purified the air ; while the decaying plants themselves, being accumulated into vast beds and strata, and subjected, through the changes of the earth's surface, to the pressure of mighty waters, gradually formed immense deposits of coal, for the subsequent service of man. Animals of a higher grade were now formed ; fishes became abundant, and amphibious mon-

sters, huge lizards and other reptiles, with an imperfect apparatus of respiration, began to breathe an atmosphere not yet fitted for birds and mammifers.

It is not necessary to trace out the comparatively well known facts and theories of geological science, that are incorporated into this history. It is enough, for the present purpose, to point out a few of the general conclusions of the geologist respecting the several great changes that the earth's crust has undergone, and the distinct races of vegetables and animals which have successively tenanted the earth's surface. These changes and these races have borne a constant relation to each other ; as the scenes shifted, the inhabitants also changed, the latter being always adapted to the circumstances in which they were placed. There has been a constant progress, the soil and the atmosphere becoming more and more fitted for the support of the higher forms of life ; and when all things were thus made ready for them, these higher forms have appeared, and the lower orders of being, which formerly occupied the scene, have entirely died out, so that their remains, entombed in the solid rock, are now the only indications of their past existence. In the era of the primary rocks, as we have seen, there was no organization or life, as there was nothing to support it. In the succeeding period, zoöphytes and mollusca appeared ; these were followed by fishes, and then land rose above the surface of the waters. Land-plants and animals came next, though of a low type ; continually advancing orders of beings, reptiles, birds, and mammifers, suited to the improved condition of things, successively appeared, until, at the latest epoch, man entered upon the scene, the head of animated nature as at present constituted, with powers and capacities well adapted for the full enjoyment of the augmented riches of the earth. And the end is not yet. "The present race, rude and impulsive as it is, is perhaps the best adapted to the present state of things in the world ; but the external world goes through slow and gradual changes, which may leave it in time a much serener field of existence. There may then be occasion for a nobler type of humanity, which shall complete the zoölogical circle on this planet, and realize some of the dreams of the purest spirits of the present race."

The question now occurs, How are we to account for the

origin of *life*, both in the vegetable and animal kingdoms ? The answer can readily be given, if we follow out resolutely to their remotest consequences the principles that have already been established. The evolution of natural laws, the necessary action of the qualities with which atoms were at first endowed, has sufficed to produce this complex system of mutually dependent worlds, and all the successive transformations of the earth's rind, which have fitted it for the support of successive races of organic beings. May not the same causes have produced the beings themselves ? The one process would seem to be not much more elaborate and intricate than the other. If the inherent qualities of matter have built up a solar system, they may have created, also, the first animalcule, the first fish, the first quadruped, and the first man. There has been a marked progress, in either case, from the chaotic, the rude, the imperfectly developed, up to the orderly, the complex, the matured forms. The first essays, the rude efforts, of nature have gradually been perfected. The chaotic world that was first shelled off from the sun differed not less widely from the admirably furnished planet we now inhabit, than does the zoöphyte, whose remains are not split out of the rock, from man, the present head of the animal tribe. At any rate, geology informs us, that the causes, whatever they may be, which produce life, have been long and frequently in operation. They were not exhausted in the first effort ; they are probably still at work throughout the universe. Not merely successive generations, but successive races, both of plants and animals, widely distinguished from each other, have, at different periods, tenanted the earth's surface. Those of which we possess the fossil remains belong, almost without exception, to extinct species. They were crowded out of existence, as it were, by the new forms, more perfectly organized, which came to take their places in the improving condition of things. This continuous agency of the life-producing causes, effecting still higher results by each successive effort, seems to point directly to the gradual expansion and development of the qualities with which matter was first endowed.

We actually see natural agents now at work around us, producing results which counterfeit life, if they do not constitute it. Many substances crystallize into shapes bearing a strong resemblance to vegetable forms, as in the well

known chemical experiment producing the *arbor Dianæ*. The passage of the electric fluid leaves marks that are like the branches and foliage of a tree, and the same fluid exerts a direct influence on the germination of plants. Some of the proximate principles of vegetable and animal bodies, such as urea and alantoin, are said to have been produced artificially by the chemist; and in the combination of the simple elements, such as carbon and oxygen, into these proximate principles, it is now acknowledged that there is no violation of the ordinary laws of chemical affinity. The origin of all vegetable and animal life, so far as it can be traced, is in germinal vesicles, or little cells containing granules. Such are the ova of all animals; and both vegetable and animal tissues are entirely formed from them. When the parent cells come to maturity, they burst and liberate the granules, which immediately develop themselves into new cells, thus repeating the life of their original. Now, it has been asserted, that globules can be produced in albumen by electricity; and *if these globules are true germinal vesicles*, the difficult problem of producing life by artificial means is entirely solved.

But the burden of this part of the theory rests on the evidence that has been produced of late years to favor the doctrine of equivocal generation, or the production of living beings without the agency, either direct or indirect, of parents of the same species. Can such beings, *orphans* in the strictest sense, now be produced or discovered? We have not space to repeat our author's argument on this difficult mooted question in science, nor is it necessary; he sums up the evidence on his own side, and of course finds it satisfactory, though the weight of authority is against him. He adduces the experiments of Mr. Crosse, repeated by Mr. Weekes, who claim to have produced animalcules in considerable numbers, of a species before unknown, by passing a voltaic current through silicate of potash, and through nitrate of copper. The existence of *entozoa*, or parasitic animals, found in the interior of the bodies of other animals, and found nowhere else, is thought to support the same doctrine. The question is, How came they there? Being too large, either in their perfect form, or in the egg, to have passed through the capillary blood-vessels, how came they within the body of another animal, — itself but a few weeks or a few days old,

or even in the embryo stage, — unless they were created there without parentage of their own species ?

These facts and reasonings, it is true, only go to prove, that animalcules, or beings of very small size, and low in the scale of animated existence, can be produced in this way by the inherent qualities of matter. No one will pretend, that a dog, a horse, or a man can thus be created. How can we account for the existence of these larger animals of a higher type, admitted to have been denizens of the earth only since the latest geological epochs, and therefore of comparatively recent origin ? Here we come to another point in our author's theory, — the transmutation of species, or the successive development of higher and higher orders of being out of the species immediately below them, through the accidental or natural fulfilment of certain conditions, in the course of a long period of years.

Natural history teaches us, that there is quite a regular gradation among the several tribes of vegetables and animals ; though we may not be able to range all the species, as constantly advancing in a single line, there is certainly the general appearance of a scale, beginning with the most simple, and going on to the most complex forms. While the external characteristics are very different, all are but variations of a single plan, which exists as the basis of all, and is varied in each individual only so as to accommodate it to the conditions under which the individual is to live. The germ of a higher animal—a mammifer, for instance—is the representative of a lower animal full-grown, like the *volvox globator* ; the latter remaining in this initial stage, as an animalcule, through its whole existence ; while the former is developed out of it, by successive stages, into a quadruped, or even into a man. Similar functions are performed in different animals by very different organs, the gills of fishes performing the same office as the lungs of the mammalia ; and these different organs sometimes exist, at different periods, according to the degree of development, in the same animal. Thus, the tadpole, so long as it continues to be a fish, breathes by gills, which disappear and give place to lungs when it becomes a frog. Similar transformations of the insect tribe are familiar to all. Imperfect or rudimentary organs are found in certain animals, as the mammx of a man ; a particular organ being here developed to a certain extent,

though it is not needed ; but being developed a little further, it becomes useful in the next set of animals in the scale. The same peculiarity is found among plants ; the skilful gardener being able actually to develop these rudimentary organs by supplying the requisite conditions, and thus, as it were, to raise the plant one step in the scale.

“ We have yet to advert to the most interesting class of facts connected with the laws of organic development. It is only in recent times that physiologists have observed that each animal passes, in the course of its germinal history, through a series of changes resembling the *permanent forms* of the various orders of animals inferior to it in the scale. Thus, for instance, an insect, standing at the head of the articulated animals, is, in the larva state, a true annelid, or worm, the annelida being the lowest in the same class. The embryo of a crab resembles the perfect animal of the inferior order myriapoda, and passes through all the forms of transition which characterize the intermediate tribes of crustacea. The frog, for some time after its birth, is a fish with external gills and other organs, fitting it for an aquatic life, all of which are changed as it advances to maturity, and becomes a land animal. The mammifer only passes through still more stages, according to its higher place in the scale. Nor is man himself exempt from this law. His first form is that which is permanent in the animalcule. His organization gradually passes through conditions generally resembling a fish, a reptile, a bird, and the lower mammalia, before it attains its specific maturity. At one of the last stages of his foetal career, he exhibits an intermaxillary bone, which is characteristic of the perfect ape ; this is suppressed, and he may then be said to take leave of the simial type, and become a true human creature. Even, as we shall see, the varieties of his race are represented in the progressive development of an individual of the highest, before we see the adult Caucasian, the highest point yet attained in the animal scale.

“ To come to particular points of the organization. The brain of man, which exceeds that of all other animals in complexity of organization and fulness of development, is, at one early period, only ‘ a simple fold of nervous matter, with difficulty distinguishable into three parts, while a little tail-like prolongation towards the hinder parts, and which had been the first to appear, is the only representation of a spinal marrow. Now, in this state, it perfectly resembles the brain of an adult fish, thus assuming *in transitu* the form that in the fish is permanent. In a short time, however, the structure is become more complex, the parts more

distinct, the spinal marrow better marked ; it is now the brain of a reptile. The change continues ; by a singular motion, certain parts (*corpora quadragemina*), which had hitherto appeared on the upper surface, now pass towards the lower ; the former is their permanent situation in fishes and reptiles, the latter in birds and mammalia. This is another advance in the scale, but more remains yet to be done. The complication of the organ increases ; cavities, termed *ventricles*, are formed, which do not exist in fishes, reptiles, or birds ; curiously organized parts, such as the *corpora striata*, are added ; it is now the brain of the mammalia. Its last and final change alone seems wanting, — that which shall render it the brain of man.” — pp. 150 – 152.

Usually, it is true, each species produces only its like, — “every creeping thing and beast of the earth” bringing forth young “*after his kind*.” But the development of a single animal, under the ordinary law, takes place in a few weeks or days ; while the development of distinct races and species is the work of a whole creation, and is spread over countless ages. It is reasonable to suppose, that the latter is effected by means of a higher law, manifesting itself only at long intervals. Its infrequent manifestation is no argument against the regularity and necessity of its occurrence, — against its being a law at all. The comet that visits our system only once in five hundred years is controlled by the same inflexible principle which causes the return of another comet once in five years. The conditions requisite for a development more perfect than usual, — that is, for the production of a new species, — instead of a new individual of the same species, may be fulfilled only at long intervals ; but when they are fulfilled, the result — the more perfect development — takes place as necessarily, as much by the virtue of law, as the more ordinary phenomenon of the propagation of one race. These conditions may be answered in the successive stages of improvement, through which the earth and its atmosphere pass, during the vast periods of time contemplated in geology. In the era of the old red-sandstone, for instance, there were no higher animals than fishes, because the atmosphere was highly charged with carbonic acid, and could not support respiration by lungs. When the air became purer, the gills were changed into the imperfect lungs of the amphibious tribes, such as the huge saurians and the frogs. Deprive these latter animals, in their lower stage, of

all access to the light, and they will not advance to their higher stage. Put a tadpole into a perforated box, and sink it to the bottom of a river, and the animal will never be perfected into a frog ; he will grow to an enormous size, but he will continue a tadpole.

We see, then, the process of an "organic creation by law," or by virtue of the inherent qualities of inorganic matter. The ordinary chemical affinities of different substances may draw them together into such compounds as albumen and fibrin, which are the proximate principles of organic tissues. The action of electricity, heat, light, or some other mysterious imponderable agent, on these proximate principles, may produce globules, or germinal vesicles. These germs, multiplying themselves by fissiparous generation, will constitute a stock of animals of a low type, such as a tribe of infusory animalcules. Then "this simplest and most primitive type, under a law to which that of like production is subordinate, gives birth to the type next above it, this again produces the next higher, and so on to the very highest, the stages of advance being in all cases very small, — namely, from one species only to another ; so that the phenomenon has always been of a simple and modest character." Thus, the first reptile was born from a fish, the first bird was generated by a reptile, and the first mammifer had birds for its parents. The transformations appear rather astounding, as we pass from one class to another ; but the difference between the species, even, is often so great, that the transition appears hardly less difficult. In what quadruped, for instance, do we find the first ancestor of the huge and sagacious elephant ? What humble lizard gave birth to those monsters of the fossil world, the plesiosaurus and megalosaurus, thirty or forty feet in length ? Man, of course, upon this theory, is only a more perfectly developed monkey, or chimpanzee. With a nod of approbation to Lord Monboddos's theory, our author observes, that man has even the rudiments of "a caudal extremity" in the *os coccygis*.

That the instinct of animals and the mind of man are the results of nothing but material organization is an obvious corollary from this doctrine. "The difference," says this writer, "between mind in the lower animals and in man is a difference in degree only ; it is not a specific difference." Mental phenomena, apparently so various and unstable in

the individual, are reduced at once to regularity, and become subject to calculation, if considered in the mass. This shows, that, like the phenomena of the weather, they are under the presidency of natural laws. The phrenologists are the only persons who have followed the order of nature in the study of mind ; they have even determined the functions of the different parts of the brain. An experiment is mentioned with a newly killed animal, whose brain was taken out and its place filled with substances producing electric action, when the process of digestion, that had been interrupted, was instantly resumed, thus "showing the absolute identity of the brain with a galvanic battery." The experiment of inducing muscular action in a corpse, by applying galvanism, is sufficiently well known. To borrow an illustration from Sidney Smith, it would seem, that, if we only knew to what organs of the brain to direct an electric current, an automaton, or a dead man, might be made to hold an argument, "at least as well as most country parsons."

A person who should hear for the first time this naked exposition of the writer's theory would be tempted at once to reject the whole, as too extravagant and absurd to deserve further notice. But he would be much mistaken in this conclusion. The theory is a very plausible one ; it is one of the best cosmogonies that the wit of man has ever framed. It is a revival of the old atheistic hypothesis, — the Epicurean doctrine of the formation of the universe by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, — with all the modifications and improvements that were rendered necessary by the discoveries of modern science. We call it an atheistic theory, because, though the writer supposes that primitive matter was first endowed *by divine power* with its mysterious qualities and capacities, this supposition is gratuitous and arbitrary, and only mars the simplicity of the scheme, and injures the consistency and coherence of the parts with each other. We can more easily believe that these qualities are necessarily inherent in the constitution of matter, forming a part of its very essence, just like the properties of impenetrability and extension, than that they subsequently developed themselves by forming myriads of intricate organizations, without further aid from the divine architect. If we can credit the hypothesis, that bricks and mortar came together of their own accord, and arranged

themselves into the first house meet for the habitation of man, we can very readily admit, also, that the bricks first assumed the proper shape, and mortar the proper tenacity and hardness, without the intervention of human labor and skill. If there is no need of a bricklayer, we may discard also the brick-maker.

Putting aside, therefore, this gratuitous addition to the theory, we come to examine the plausibility of the doctrine which assumes, that material atoms, constituted as they now are, are capable, without oversight or direction, of forming a universe like our own, and producing all the animated tribes which tenant it. In all the atheistic reasoning upon this subject, and especially in the work now before us, there is a constant confusion between *what may be*, for aught we know to the contrary, and *what is*, so far as we are able positively to determine it from our present means of observation and experiment; between the *possibility* that is measured only by human ignorance, and the *probability* that is fairly inferred by the legitimate exercise of the understanding. Effects have unquestionably been produced, such as the formation of a solar system, and the production of new and perfectly distinct orders of being, which we are wholly unable to account for by the *present and ordinary* operation of what are called secondary causes. If a theorist chooses to assume, that these secondary causes, under certain conditions, which we never have seen, and never can see, realized, might produce very extraordinary results, might even fully account for the wonderful effects in question, we have a right to say, in reply, that he is dealing in pure speculation and hypothesis; that, having had no experience under the conditions or postulates of his theory, he is necessarily *speaking from* ignorance and *appealing to* ignorance; that, even if we could not point out a single difficulty, a single false assumption, in his whole scheme and argument, it would still remain a mere hypothesis, alike incapable of proof or disproof; and that, at the best, the arguments brought against it must be of nearly the same wiredrawn, speculative, and far-fetched character with those adduced in its support. On a mere sandbank, unsupplied either with arms or tools, the only edifice that can be built is one of sand, and sand affords the only means for its destruction. The fallacy to which such speculatists constantly have resort is, that the weakness or the entire absence

of all considerations against their theory constitutes a positive argument in its support. No such thing ; it affords only a fair presumption of the baseless character of the whole fabric.

This may be made more clear by examples. If a child, who has had little experience of the laws of nature, and has learned nothing from books, is gravely assured by his instructor, that in a distant region of the ocean there is an island where stones fly upward instead of downward, and men walk on their heads instead of their feet, the young philosopher, however acute and ingenious we may suppose him to be, certainly could not offer one valid argument against the alleged fact. He could only stare, and wonder, and say that it might be so *for all that he knew to the contrary*. Just so, when the atheist tells us, that far off in infinite space is a region, of which we can see nothing, even with our best telescopes, except a faint glimmer of light, floating like a cloudlet in the heavens, where the primitive atoms of matter, directed by gravity alone, are slowly congregating together, and forming suns, and planets, and secondary satellites, and giving birth to such intricate harmonies of mutually dependent and revolving worlds as those which have prevailed for ages in our own system ; or that, thousands of years ago, the same unassisted laws of matter, which we now see producing only such comparatively meagre and insufficient results, actually caused animalcules to be produced from pure sand, and fishes to be created out of oysters, and birds to be generated by slimy and grovelling reptiles, and men to be born from monkeys ;—if he should tell us all this, certainly we could offer no direct confutation of the wonderful tale. In regard to alleged facts of this character, the wisest of men are, and always must be, mere children. But it would be monstrous to say, that this wild assertion derived any support from their admitted bewilderment and incapacity. This would be to attempt to found knowledge upon ignorance. The dim analogies resting on questionable facts, the bold assumptions and slippery arguments on which such daring hypotheses must be based, can be refuted, for the most part, only by reasoning in kind, — by arguments nearly as uncertain, it may be, as those which they are brought to answer. We cannot *prove* a negative ; we can only show the insufficiency of the ground on which the opposite assumption is made to

rest ; and enough is done for this end, when it is made to appear, that the whole scheme is a *mere* hypothesis.

We make these general remarks only to relieve some readers of this volume from the doubt and perplexity which its perusal may have caused, solely because they were unable to detect any one glaring fallacy or inconsistency in the writer's theory. It appears plausible enough ; for, though there is very little in its favor, it seems at first sight as if there was little or nothing to say against it. On closer scrutiny, it will be found, perhaps, that it is disproved by a multitude of considerations, any one of which would be fatal to it ; as the hypothesis is of such a character, that, when a single breach is made in it, the whole edifice must tumble. If the intervention of an extraneous cause be absolutely necessary at any one stage or process in the creation, it may as well be admitted in all ; the principle must be given up, and the whole purpose of the theist is answered. We shall endeavour to show that this hypothetical history of creation is not only faulty in every point, when viewed from the author's own ground, but, when examined in the proper direction, is absolutely unintelligible, or is in fact no history at all.

Let us look first at the nebular hypothesis. Certain spots and tracts in the heavens, of a whitish color, appearing to the naked eye to be *nebulæ*, on being examined through a telescope, instantly resolve themselves into a multitude of distinct and perfectly formed stars. Such is the greatest nebula of all, — the galaxy, or milky way. Other spots of a like character, if viewed through glasses of moderate power, still appear as *nebulæ* ; but when seen through more perfect instruments, they immediately seem, like the others, to be a mere crowd of stars. Others, again, are not separated or resolved by the best telescopes ; but what is the natural inference from this fact ? Surely, we infer that they are merely crowded collections of stars, just like the others, except that they are too distant or too small to be seen as distinct bodies, even with the most powerful instruments that we possess. If telescopes of a greater range should hereafter be constructed, there is every reason to believe that these also will be resolved to the eye into their component parts as stars ; and in fact, if newspaper accounts may be credited, when Lord Rosse's new and magnificent telescope was first turned towards some of these spots, which had

always preserved their nebulous appearance when examined by inferior instruments, it was immediately apparent, that they were composed of distinct stars. Yet the hypothesis we are now considering assumes, that these remote and faintly seen nebulae are not crowds of stars, but primitive luminous matter, the particles of which are slowly congregating together, and forming one new star, or several. Certainly, never was a bold theory built upon a narrower basis. It is due, however, to the two Herschels, the chief supporters of this theory, to say, that they have always spoken of it only as a hypothesis, and by no means as an established fact in astronomical science. And, as a hypothesis, it labors under this peculiar difficulty, that it evidently never can be verified. It must ever remain a *mere* guess, directly opposed by an obvious induction from those nebulae which are resolvable into perfect stars.

The fact, that one or two bright points, assumed to be centres of aggregation, are seen in some of these nebulae, is of no importance. If a bright star be seen from this earth in the same line of vision with the nebula, it will be projected on the ground of that nebula, and will appear as a part of it, though it may be many millions of miles on this side, and have no more connection with it than the planet Jupiter would have, if it should happen to be in conjunction with the nebula, and thus appear for a short time to be projected upon its disc.

There is one consideration of some weight, though we have never seen it adverted to, which tends directly to confute the nebular hypothesis. That faint radiance called the zodiacal light, which is seen to stream up in the form of a cone from our sun, is assumed by our author to be a residuum of the nebulous matter belonging to our system, which has not yet been drawn into the sun, though it is on its way thither. Others have supposed, with far more probability, that it is the sun's atmosphere, and therefore its present shape and size will never change,—as they never have changed, during the period in which they have been observed by man. But no matter; we are now reasoning upon our author's hypothesis. If the zodiacal light be composed of primitive nebulous matter, it must now be comparatively thick and dense, since the process of aggregation has been going on for countless ages, and, in our system, is considered

as nearly completed ; just as when a sediment is forming in a tumbler full of turbid water, after the upper portion of the fluid has become entirely clear, there will be a stratum of water next to the sediment more turbid than the whole was before the deposition began. Yet this light is very faint, when seen only from the distance of our earth ; and at the boundaries of our system, from the orbit of Uranus, for instance, we cannot believe that it is visible at all. Is it likely, then, that a portion of this nebulous matter, in which the process of deposition has hardly begun, and which is seen from a distance so vast, that in comparison with it the whole diameter of our solar system is but a point, would be visible from this earth ? In the case of the other nebulæ, a multitude of perfectly formed suns, uniting their respective beams, are seen only as a faint, whitish speck on the blue arch. And yet we are required to believe, that the luminous matter which will ultimately form but one sun, or perhaps two, while still thinly diffused over an immense tract of space, the process of aggregation having hardly commenced, is yet visible to our eyes at this vast distance.

“Credat Judæus Apella ;

Non ego.”

We pass to the next chapter in the history, which professes to explain the gradual formation of a solar system by a process of cooling and shrinking, to which the central orb is exposed. And here we are met by a difficulty at the outset ; for the existence of comets with their very eccentric orbits is wholly irreconcilable with the theory. At their perihelion, many of these bodies pass within the orbit of Mercury, while the aphelion of some lies without the path of Uranus. Where were they, when the body of the sun filled up the whole of the vast sphere circumscribed by the orbit of the remotest planet ? If we suppose that they are late comers, after the rest of our system was perfected, — that they were generated by themselves in distant regions of space, and, having strayed about, orphan-like, for a while, they accidentally crossed our track, and were taken as adopted children into our family, another question remains to be answered. Why did they not remain in their first position, absorb their full share of nebulous matter, beget a respectable family of planets, and take rank as chiefs of their own clan ? These comparatively anomalous bodies are great stumbling-blocks for the *soi-disant* historians of creation.

Again, if an immense orb be formed, the parts of which cohere strongly enough for the whole to turn upon its axis as one body, the process of cooling can go on only from the surface. A crust may finally be formed there ; but we see not how the refrigeration and shrinking of the interior parts can then go on separately, until the mass in the centre finally becomes detached from its envelope, like a shrivelled nut from its shell. Our earth is cooling down at this moment, unless the warmth which it receives from the sun exactly counterbalances the loss by radiation of internal heat. But the exterior and interior do not cool by different radiations, nor is there, so far as we know, the least tendency in the central mass to shrink separately, so as to detach itself from the surrounding crust. As deep as we can penetrate towards the centre, we find the heat regularly increase, — just as we might expect, if the only absolute loss of heat be from the surface.

If the matter now concentrated in the sun, and that which forms the several planets with their secondaries, were all moulded into one mass, and then dilated so as to fill the vast sphere of which the orbit of Uranus forms a circumference, the substance would evidently be in a state of extreme tenuity and diffusion. Immense as the mass of the sun now is, it is but a mere nut at the centre of the grand globe which we are now considering. Expanded to such vast dimensions, we cannot conceive of it as a solid spheroid turning upon its axis, but only as a mass of fluid or vapor, in which a circular motion would generate only vortices or whirlwinds. In such an aggregation of subtile matter, no crust could be solidified on the outer ring, and then detached from the mass within ; indeed, any separation of the parts under such circumstances is inconceivable. Even a rotary motion could not be established in it, except by an impulse received from without ; for there is every reason to believe, that the movement of a homogeneous fluid towards its centre, if it could take place without disturbing causes, would be in radial lines, and not in a spiral.

Our author brings into view all the mathematical proportions and uniform relations which exist between the constituent bodies of the solar system, in order to indicate the probability of their formation from the constant working of one material cause. Thus he remarks, that the primary

planets all move nearly in one plane, and "show a progressive increase of bulk and diminution of density, from the one nearest to the sun to that which is most distant." But he passes over other characteristics of these bodies, equally important, which are quite irregular, and cannot be traced to the operation of one law. Compare the periods of rotation on their respective axes, and we find no correspondence, no indication that the revolving motion was imparted to all by one inflexible law. The first four planets, counting from the sun, perform their rotation in nearly the same time, namely, twenty-four hours. But Jupiter's period is a little less, and Saturn's a little more, than ten hours. Again, Jupiter's axis of rotation is nearly perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, while that of Mars is inclined at an angle of fifty-nine degrees forty-two minutes. Another irregularity, still more fatal to the theory, is found in the number of satellites by which the respective planets are attended. Saturn has seven, beside the two rings; Jupiter has four, Mars has none, and the earth has but one. On the single hypothesis, that our system was formed by rings successively thrown off from a central body by a process of refrigeration and contraction, these irregularities are inexplicable. Mars, it seems, did not shrink at all, while Jupiter cast off four separate rings, and the earth produced its single moon. The distances of these bodies from their primaries are also quite irregular; in the case of Jupiter, the outermost of the satellites revolves at a distance which is only twenty-seven times the radius of the primary, and the innermost is distant but six times that radius. This planet, consequently, has shrunk to one twenty-seventh part of its original diameter, and in so doing, has formed four moons; the earth has shrunk to one sixtieth part of its first diameter, and still has produced but one satellite. If the same law had prevailed in the two cases, we ought to have nine or ten moons.

We need not analyze with any great minuteness the geological facts and hypotheses incorporated into this magnificent history of creation. As will be seen hereafter, the violent and sweeping transformations and convulsions that the earth's crust has undergone directly conflict with our author's theory, and afford the strongest presumption, that an extraneous cause has frequently interfered, at different periods, to repair the desolation produced by the unassisted working of

natural laws, to bring order out of chaos, and to people the desert earth anew with animated tribes. The only general fact of much moment, which our author has drawn from the discoveries of geologists, for the confirmation of his own hypothesis, is, according to his own account, one of the most questionable doctrines in the whole science, — one of a negative character, on which we can never rely with full assurance, till the researches of man have probed every fold, and examined every thread in the texture, of the earth's garment, and thus shown that no evidence can possibly be discovered to the contrary. The alleged fact is, that, in the early formations of rock — the first pages in the history of the earth's surface — are found the remains of animals and vegetables only of the lowest type and most imperfect development ; while, in the later strata, forms more and more advanced are discovered ; so that there seems to have been a constant progress along the line leading to the higher forms of organization. The testimony which goes to support this assertion is wholly negative. The geologist reasons thus : The more perfect organisms have not been discovered in the earlier strata ; *therefore*, they do not exist in them. When, in a different connection, it suits our author's purpose to throw doubt on the very postulate which is here admitted, he holds the following language.

“ These, it must be owned, are less strong traces of the birds than we possess of the reptiles and other tribes ; but it must be remembered, that the evidence of fossils, as to the absence of any class of animals from a certain period of the earth's history, can never be considered as more than negative. Animals, of which we find no remains in a particular formation, may, nevertheless, have lived at the time, and it may have only been from unfavorable circumstances that their remains have not been preserved for our inspection. The single circumstance of their being little liable to be carried down into seas might be the cause of their non-appearance in our quarries.” — p. 95.

In truth, the researches of geologists are every day bringing to light new facts, which compel them to modify or abandon many of the positions they formerly held ; so that a considerable portion of the science is a mere quicksand of shifting theories. We need only allude to the various suppositions respecting the origin of drift, and to the numerous modifications of the glacial theory. Important discoveries have been

made within a short time, showing that certain animal tribes had their origin much farther back than was at first supposed. A few years ago, reptiles were believed to be the highest type of life that existed during the era of the new red sandstone. But Professor Hitchcock's recent discovery in this stone of the footprints of gigantic birds has added a higher class to the zoölogy of the period ; and within a few months, in the same red sandstone of the Connecticut valley, tracks of two or three species of quadrupeds have been found, some of them being probably mammifers of a lower grade. It is true, no fossil remains of these animals have been brought to light ; but this want only renders the discovery more significant for our present purpose. It shows that certain animals must have lived at the period in question, though their remains have not yet been found ; and from the greater age of the rocks then formed, and the consequent greater number of convulsions of the earth's surface to which they have been subjected, these remains may have entirely disappeared. It is a curious fact, also, that the animal remains of that period, which have come down to us, belong to genera so constituted, that their bodies might well survive, if we may so speak, the shocks which would have destroyed every trace of some more delicate, or more finely organized, beings. We find remains of the flint-shielded animalcules, the hard-shelled mollusca, and the cartilaginous fishes ; but the bodies of mammalia, birds, and even the higher species of fishes, some of which we may suppose to have been more tender and corruptible, have utterly perished. Here and there, an individual of their number left the print of its foot on the sand, which subsequently hardened into rock, and brought down to our times a faint vestige of its past existence.

We are not attempting to impugn the credit of geological science in general, which would be a wholly futile task. The multitude of facts respecting the present constitution of the earth's crust, recently made known by laborers in this department, are among the most curious and most pregnant discoveries of modern times. But when we come to the formation of theories respecting the past history of the earth, in order to account for the phenomena at present visible on its surface, we are evidently afloat on a sea of conjecture, each hypothesis being valid only till a more plausible one is proposed, — which happens very frequently, — or till it is ef-

fectually disproved by some new discovery in the rocky strata. A fertile imagination and a bold face are among the most striking traits of our more daring geologists. Grant to one of this character a few modest postulates, — give him certain millions of years, a sufficient number of earthquakes, a whole battery of volcanoes, a few ocean deluges, and the rise and fall of half a dozen continents, — and he will frame a theory off-hand, which will account for the most perplexing phenomena. Our author is certainly entitled to take his place at the very head of this class of speculatists.

In accounting for the work of creation by the natural and unassisted development of the inherent qualities of brute matter, the great difficulty is found at the first link in the chain of animated being. How can we explain the commencement of *life*? We must have a clear idea of the whole scope of this problem, before we can make any attempt at its solution. Life, then, is *not* mere organization, though most materialists, philosophers, like our author, willingly confound the two things; to hear them reason, one would almost suppose that there was no difference between a dead man and a living one. Organization is subservient to life, ministers to it, manifests it, — supports it, if you please, — but does not constitute it. He must be a bolder man than we are, who will undertake to say *what it is*; but we can very safely declare *what it is not*; and in any particular form or aggregation of matter, whether organic or inorganic, we can give a shrewd guess as to its presence or absence. It may be said, that we beg the question by assuming that organization is not life; it may be so; but it is quite too much to allow the materialist quietly to take the opposite doctrine for granted. He must know the full extent of his task, — that it is necessary for him not only to construct the machine, but actually to set it in motion, so that it shall afterwards run on of its own accord. It is very easy to frame a partial definition of life, by merely describing one or two of its characteristic functions; and then, because some action can be detected between the particles of brute matter, which resembles the exercise of these functions, boldly to declare that the whole mystery is solved. Thus it is said, that life is nothing but the accretion of similar substances, or the addition of like unto like; and as this occurs in crystallization, which is confessedly a phenomenon of inorganic matter, therefore there is no fundamental difference

between the properties of living and dead substances. We deny the first proposition; nutrition is not the only characteristic of life, and the nutritive process, whether in vegetables or animals, is not mere accretion, but assimilation. It has been said, though the assertion is by no means fully proved, that assimilation is only a finer kind of chemistry, the constituent principles being brought together only by their natural affinities. Even if this were true, if the stomach and the digestive apparatus were only a well furnished chemical laboratory, fit for conducting the most delicate experiments, the great difficulty would still remain. The question might yet be asked, Where is the chemist? And this is the fundamental question, which the materialists never attempt to answer, but quietly evade.

The difference between an inorganic and an organic body has been explained by Coleridge clearly enough for our purpose. In the former, — a sheaf of corn, for instance, — the whole is nothing more than a collection of the individual parts; in the latter, — an animal, — the whole is the effect of, or results from, the parts. In the latter case, the whole is every thing, and the parts are comparatively nothing. One of the great effects of life is to keep the parts in subjection to the whole, making them contribute to its support and growth, and thus maintaining the unity of the system. The stomach digests, the lungs inhale air, the heart beats, and the blood circulates; and as the joint effect, or as the common supporter, — it matters not which, — of these operations, *life* continues, and the animated being is a unit; it has not merely virtual, but essential unity. The reciprocal action of the respiratory, circulating, and nervous systems is absolutely necessary to life. The animal dies, and this unity, this subservience of the parts to the whole, immediately ceases. In the functions of the living body, it may be that the ordinary laws of chemistry are preserved, and that the elements of carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen combine and separate according to their ordinary affinities, and in no unusual proportions. But after death, at any rate, quite a different set of chemical laws come into play, and produce a result which is the very opposite of that before effected. There is no longer any unanimity or coöperation; instead of sustaining or building up the animal tissues, the affinities now in operation tear down, destroy, and resolve them into their ultimate ele-

ments,—each part following out its own law of destruction or resolution, irrespectively of the others.

“There is in living organic matter a principle constantly in action, the operations of which are in accordance with a rational plan, so that the individual parts which it creates in the body are adapted to the design of the whole; and this it is which distinguishes organism. Kant says, ‘The cause of the particular mode of existence of each part of a living body resides in the whole, while in dead masses each part contains this cause within itself.’ This explains why a mere part separated from an organized whole generally does not continue to live; why, in fact, an organized body appears to be one and indivisible. And since the different parts of an organized body are heterogeneous members of one whole, and essential to its perfect state, the trunk cannot live after the loss of one of these parts.”—*Müller’s Physiology*, Vol. 1., p. 19.

The apparent exceptions to this statement—as in the case of the polypes, which multiply by fissiparous generation, or by spontaneous division of their bodies into parts, each part becoming a perfect animal—are only apparent. These creatures, which are low down in the scale of being, exemplify what Mr. Owen calls “the law of vegetative or irrelative repetition,” as they have many organs performing the same function, and not related to each other by combination for the performance of a higher function. Thus, a Polygastrian has many assimilative sacs, each performing the office of a stomach irrespectively of the rest. In the insect tribe, the respiratory function, instead of being performed by one set of lungs for the whole body, is carried on through a series of minute and highly ramified tubes, which traverse every part of the body, and open to the air by a great number of orifices. In some instances, both respiration and digestion seem to take place over the whole surface of the body; for Trembley found at least one case, in which the animal digested its food equally well, after it had been turned inside out. A number of similar parts being repeated in each segment of the individual, the body can be divided, and the several portions, each still containing some of all the organs essential to the whole, will continue to live separately. The severed parts will even continue to grow, and to develop other organs convenient for individual existence. But most animals, especially the more perfect, do not constitute an ag-

gregate of similar parts united by one trunk, and therefore propagation by division is in them impossible. The ovum, when separated from the parent, is an entire animal only *potentially* ; during its development, the essential parts which constitute the *actual* whole are produced. In the case of the polype, we have only to suppose that the ovum remains connected with the parent being, till all, or nearly all, its essential parts are produced. It is then shed not as a mere ovum, but as an animal nearly or wholly complete.

Now, all the instances adduced by our author, to show similarity of action in the organic and the inorganic world, are irrelevant. The analogies are not merely imperfect ; they are no analogies at all. Crystals increase by the aggregation of new particles on the external surfaces of the parts already formed ; there is no consentaneous operation of the parts on the whole. The molecules of crystals are homogeneous throughout, and the several aggregates of these molecules are independent of each other ; while organized bodies are composed of parts perfectly dissimilar from each other, but all of which conspire to one end. "The growth of organized bodies," says Müller, "takes place in all particles of their substance at the same time, while the increase of the mass in inorganic bodies is produced by external apposition." Frostwork on the windows may resemble vegetable *forms* ; but it has no resemblance whatever to vegetable *life*. Electricity may counterfeit the *action of life*, for a moment, on a particular limb, by causing the muscles to twitch ; but it does not counterfeit *life itself*, by causing all the parts again to contribute to the sustentation of the whole. A French chemist, by electric action, may have produced *globules* in albumen ; there is nothing very wonderful in that ; any one may blow bubbles in a viscid fluid. The resemblance between these globules and proper germinal vesicles amounts to nothing more than similarity of outward shape ; there is no more real resemblance between them than between the oval lump of chalk which farmers sometimes put into a hen's nest, in order to deceive poor Dame Partlet, and the real egg which the hen deposits by the side of it. Certainly, the imponderable agents, heat, light, and electricity, are in some mysterious way *connected with life*, so as to contribute to its support ; there is nothing more in this assertion than in the familiar proposition, that a seed will germinate only under the

proper conditions of soil and climate ; but that these agents, acting on inorganic matter, ever *create* or *commence* life is a pure hypothesis, not supported even by the shadow of a fact.

Having thus shown how weak are the general considerations in favor of the theory, that animated beings may be created out of inorganic matter by mere natural laws, we should proceed to consider the direct evidence adduced to prove that life has actually been produced in this way. Here the whole question is opened respecting the alleged instances of equivocal generation, and we have neither space nor ability to discuss them at length. Those who are curious respecting the question may find a brief summary of the evidence on both sides in a former number of this Journal.* We can mention only a few facts and arguments, which show the extreme improbability of the doctrine supported by our author and a few other theorists.

In the first place, it is remarkable, that all the races of animated beings, which are entirely within the range of our powers of observation, — which have such a size and locality that we can study and accurately determine their organization and habits, — are unquestionably produced from parents of their own kind. Only the minute microscopic animals are now supposed to be generated spontaneously ; and this alleged fact rests not on direct proof, but only on our inability in certain cases to trace the process of their production in the ordinary way. As many of these animals, in their perfect state, are not more than the twelve thousandth part of an inch in diameter, it is not much to be wondered at, that we should not be able in all cases to discover their ova, or to follow these ova through all their stages of development into the complete being. It is farther remarkable, that these animalcules, when once produced, whether by spontaneous or natural generation, are all found to be provided with the organs or requisite means for continuing their species, and, in fact, for multiplying their number from themselves with astonishing rapidity. As they certainly have children, it seems reasonable to suppose, according to the analogy of all the higher animated tribes, that they also had parents. The ancients supposed, that the worms and insects which appear

* *N. A. Review*, Vol. LVI., pp. 339–351.

in decaying organic matter were generated there by the decomposition of the substance, without the previous agency of individuals of the same stock. Every schoolboy is acquainted with Virgil's mode of obtaining a new swarm of bees from the decaying carcass of a heifer. Subsequent researches, made with more care, and perhaps with better instruments of observation, have entirely disproved the hypothesis, and show that the maggots were produced in every case from eggs deposited by flies or other insects, and were afterwards themselves developed into the state of perfect insects. Then it seems reasonable to believe, that the improved observations of future times will clear up the only remaining difficulty, and show how the infusory animalcules also are generated from beings of their own kind.

These minute creatures are prolific to a degree that transcends all calculation; and they exist, either in the egg or maturely developed, in inconceivable numbers. A single wheel-animalcule, *Hydatina senta*, which was watched for more than eighteen days, and which lives still longer, is capable of a fourfold increase in twenty-four or thirty hours; a rate of propagation which would afford in ten days a million of beings. From their tenacity of life, extraordinary powers of reproduction, and incalculable numbers, their united influence may be said to be far more important, in all the great operations of nature, than that of the larger and more perfectly developed organisms. They swarm in all the seas, and play an important part in choking up harbours and forming great deposits at the mouths of rivers. The remains of those which have perished form great beds and strata in the crust of the earth. The silicious stone, called Tripoli, is entirely composed of such remains; at Bilin, in Bohemia, there is one stratum of this substance, fourteen feet thick, one cubic inch of which is estimated to contain forty-one thousand millions of individuals. Their extreme tenacity of life is evinced by the fact, that many of them may be entirely desiccated, and preserved in pure sand for several years, after which, on the application of a drop of water, they may be restored to life. In this dried state, M. Doyère exposed some of them to a heat equal to that of boiling water, and afterwards revived them; though, in an active state, if subjected to a much lower temperature, they perish. If, then, the fully developed and mature can resist such powerful ex-

traneous causes of destruction, how much more must the ova possess the power of enduring them without losing their latent life ! The following extract from Professor Owen's Lectures shows the bearing of these facts upon the question of equivocal generation.

"The act of oviparous generation, that sending forth of countless ova through the fatal laceration or dissolution of the parent's body, is most commonly observed in the well-fed *Polygastria*, which crowd together as their little ocean evaporates ; and thus each leaves, by the last act of its life, the means of perpetuating and diffusing its species by thousands of fertile germs. When the once thickly tenanted pool is dried up, and its bottom converted into a layer of dust, these inconceivably minute and light ova will be raised with the dust by the first puff of wind, diffused through the atmosphere, and may there remain long suspended ; forming, perhaps, their share of the particles which we see flickering in the sunbeam, ready to fall into any collection of water, beaten down by every summer shower into the streams or pools which receive or may be formed by such showers, and, by virtue of their tenacity of life, ready to develop themselves wherever they may find the requisite conditions for their existence.

"The possibility, or, rather, the high probability, that such is the design of the oviparous generation of the *Infusoria*, and such the common mode of the diffusion of their ova, renders the hypothesis of equivocal generation, which has been so frequently invoked to explain their origin in new-formed natural or artificial infusions, quite gratuitous. If organs of generation might, at first sight, seem superfluous in creatures propagating their kind by gemmation and spontaneous fission, equivocal generation is surely still less required to explain the origin of beings so richly provided with the ordinary and recognized modes of propagation."— pp. 31, 32.

Recent accounts show, that the dust collected from the atmosphere at sea, many miles from land, generally contains some of these dried animalcules and their ova. Many of these germs can be developed only in particular localities, or under certain conditions which are rarely fulfilled. Consequently, if there were but few of them, the species might perish, because those few might not find their appropriate home. But such an accident is guarded against by the vast multiplication of these germs and their wide dispersion ; for, unlike all the higher tribes of beings except man, the same species is often found in all regions of the globe. Very few, in comparison with the whole number, may find a proper *nidus* ; but these

few then propagate with such marvellous rapidity, as fully to replenish, if not to increase, the original stock. Thus they have been enabled, as species, to survive even those destroying causes which exterminated all the higher forms of animals. Several species still exist, which were in being at the time of the cretaceous formation, though all the other animated races belonging to that period have perished. "These animalcules," says Ehrenberg, "constitute a chain, which, though in the individual it be microscopic, yet in the mass is a mighty one, connecting the organic life of distant ages of the earth."

In view of facts like these, we may surely say, that the existence of the infusory animalcules, and even of the entozoa, is conceivable, supposing they could only have been produced by parents of their own kind, and without having recourse to the anomalous and hypothetical doctrine of equivocal generation. We may not be able to trace their line of parentage, for our imperfect vision cannot follow the motes which play in the sunbeam, nor track them from their birth-place to their final home. But we know that they must be deposited in every layer of dust that falls from the atmosphere, that they must be inhaled with every breath which an animal draws, and be swallowed with every morsel and drop of its food. The experiments which seem to prove that living beings may be produced from pure inorganic matter are all explicable on the supposition, that adequate precautions were not taken to exclude every animal and germ capable of development from the substances experimented upon, and from the air which was admitted into the apparatus. On this ground, the experiments of Crosse and Weekes, cited by our author, have been quite generally rejected by scientific men, as hardly deserving of notice. We learn that the former was "discouraged by the reception of his experiments," and "soon discontinued them"; — with good reason, for it does not appear from our author's account, that he adopted any precautions at all. Mr. Weekes seems to have been a little more cautious, and the consequence was, that he did not observe any appearance of life among the substances experimented upon for "eleven months," at the end of which time we may reasonably suppose, that his precautions ceased to have perfect effect. The only experiment, in which adequate means to guard against causes of error were taken, was

that of Professor Schulze, of Berlin, which had a contrary result. We extract Mr. Owen's account of it.

"He filled a glass flask half full of distilled water, in which were various animal and vegetable substances: he then closed it with a good cork, through which were passed two glass tubes, bent at right angles, the whole being air-tight: it was next placed in a sand bath, and heated until the water boiled violently. While the watery vapor was escaping by the glass tubes, the Professor fastened at each end an apparatus which chemists employ for collecting carbonic acid: that at the one end was filled with concentrated sulphuric acid, and the other with a solution of potash. By means of the boiling heat, it is to be presumed that every thing living, and all germs in the flask or in the tubes were destroyed; whilst all access was cut off by the sulphuric acid on the one side, and by the potash on the other. The apparatus was then exposed to the influence of summer light and heat; at the same time, there was placed near it an open vessel, with the same substances that had been introduced into the flask, and also after having subjected them to a boiling temperature. In order to renew constantly the air within the flask, the experimenter sucked with his mouth several times a day the open end of the apparatus, filled with the solution of potash, by which process the air entered his mouth from the flask through the caustic liquid, and the atmospheric air from without entered the flask through the sulphuric acid. The air was of course not at all altered in its composition by passing through the sulphuric acid in the flask; but all the portions of living matter, or of matter capable of becoming animated, were taken up by the sulphuric acid and destroyed. From the 28th of May until the beginning of August, Professor Schulze continued uninterruptedly the renewal of the air in the flask, without being able, by the aid of the microscope, to discover any living animal or vegetable substance; although, during the whole of the time, observations were made almost daily on the edge of the liquid; and when, at last, the Professor separated the different parts of the apparatus, he could not find in the whole liquid the slightest trace of *Infusoria* or *Conservæ*, or of mould; but all three presented themselves in great abundance a few days after he had left the flask standing open. The vessel which he placed near the apparatus contained on the following day *Vibriones* and *Monads*, to which were soon added larger *Polygastric Infusoria*, and afterwards *Rotifera*." — pp. 32, 33.

For readers who are not familiar with these subjects, it may be well to mention, that the weight of authority is decidedly against this doctrine of spontaneous generation. It is

rejected by Müller, who ranks among the first physiologists of Germany ; by Ehrenberg, one of the most distinguished microscopists in the world ; and by Owen, who stands at the head of the school of comparative anatomy in England, if not in Europe. The remark made by Cuvier, more than thirty years ago, is still true at the present day, that, "although the impossibility of spontaneous generation cannot be absolutely demonstrated, yet all the efforts of those physiologists who believe in the possibility of it have not succeeded in showing us a single instance."

Passing over, then, our author's theory of the origination of life from inorganic matter as utterly untenable, we come to the next point in his system,—the most chimerical of all,—the gradual development of the higher orders of being out of those next beneath them in the scale. It is not pretended, that there is *any known instance* of the transmutation of species, or of the evolution, in the ordinary way, of any being specifically different from its parents. The same animal, indeed, may pass through different grades of development ; but these changes affect only the individual, not the race. The progeny of this animal must begin at the same point where its parent did, and run precisely the same cycle. The tadpole becomes a frog, but the young of that frog are tadpoles ; the worm becomes a winged insect, but the eggs of that insect are hatched into nothing but worms. These changes in the life of the individual, like the successive periods of the embryotic state, of infancy, and manhood in the human being, are perfectly consistent with persistence of type in the race, and do not indicate even the possibility that a new species may be developed out of an old one. On the contrary, the germ must be considered as *potentially* equivalent to the whole future being, for it is invariably developed into that being. If there be any one fact unquestionably established by observation, it is that each species invariably produces its like. "All the phenomena," says Müller, "at present observed in the animal kingdom, seem to prove that the species were originally created distinct, and independent of each other. There is no remote possibility of one species being produced from another."

The doctrine of our author, then, is confessedly a pure hypothesis, and, as such, it might be summarily dismissed into the region of cloud-land and dreams, where it had its

origin. The burden of proof is upon him, and as he has failed to produce a single instance in which his theory is exemplified, he may be rightfully debarred the privilege of discussion. But waiving this point, if we look into the grounds of his conjecture, we find bold assumptions more than once substituted for the plain statement of facts, which would destroy every shade of credibility in his doctrine. True, there is an appearance, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, of an ascending scale of being, from simply organized forms and imperfect developments up to the complex arrangements and nice adaptations of the advanced tribes. But the progress is not regular, nor are the intervals of constant length. The line is often broken and doubled, and, in fact, the individuals are far more naturally arranged in a number of parallel lines, beginning successively at a somewhat lower point, than in a single series. Man, of course, is placed at the head of the animal tribes ; but the interval which separates him from the chimpanzee cannot easily be cleared at one bound. He forms but one genus, and that genus is the only one of its order. But even if the line of gradation were single and perfect, the fact would be of no service to the hypothesis we are now considering ; for the interval between two species most nearly allied to each other seems to be quite as impassable as the broadest gulf of separation.

The point chiefly relied upon to show the credibility of this doctrine is the fact, according to our author, that the higher animals pass through a series of changes resembling the permanent forms of the lower tribes. The first form of man himself "is that which is permanent in the animalcule"; and thence he comes to resemble successively a fish, a reptile, a bird, and the lower mammifers, before he attains his specific maturity. It is held, then, that a premature birth from an animal of a higher kind might have instituted a new race of a lower type ; and that a birth unusually delayed, permitting an embryo to be still farther advanced in the line of organization, might have created a new species of a higher order than the parent. Here, every thing depends on the *absolute identity* of the germs of all animals, in the lower stages of their growth. General resemblances and analogies are of no weight whatever ; the essential internal organization of the ova of different species must be the same ; otherwise, however ripened into a mature being, whether the birth be

advanced or postponed, the individual must still belong to its parents' species, of which it possesses the distinctive peculiarity. Now, this point of *the identity of germs is a mere assumption*; not only is it destitute of proof, — the whole evidence is against it. There is a degree of outward resemblance, but there is no sameness. When we trace the origin of life back to the remotest point to which our powers of observation extend, when we come to microscopic vesicles that can be discerned only by the highest magnifiers, general similarity of outward shape is all that can be predicated of them. The specific differences lie below this general resemblance of outward form; we cannot discern them, but we *know* that they must exist, and that they are *essential* differences, for each one of these vesicles is invariably developed, if at all, into an individual of the species to which its parent belongs. The germinal vesicles of a tree and a quadruped are somewhat alike, outwardly; so, to the hen's eyes, there is no difference between her own eggs and the duck's eggs which the farmer's wife has put into her nest. But when she has hatched her brood, part of them are found to be web-footed, and these, to her great astonishment and distress, immediately take to the water. Our author commits the same blunder as the poor hen. This want of consciousness that he has got to the end of his tether, this inability to believe that any difference can exist where he is not able to see it, though it is invariably indicated by future consequent differences of the most striking nature, is perfectly characteristic of the rash theorist in science.

The assertion, that man's "first form *is* that which is permanent in the animalcule," — even if we do not look to the potentiality of development into a higher being, which experience shows to exist in the human germ, but not in the infusorial, — is a positive misstatement. The lowest monad has a mouth and means for propagating its kind, which do not belong to the primitive ovum of any higher animal. About the succeeding stages in the growth of the embryo our author's language is more cautious. He only says, that they *resemble*, or *typify*, some of the lower orders of being; and this is virtually admitting a specific difference, and giving up his own theory for all the conditions posterior to that of the germ. The brain and heart of the embryo successively *resemble* the corresponding organs in a fish, a reptile, a bird,

and a quadruped ; but they are not identical, *even in outward appearance*, with those organs. Of course, if arrested at any stage of its growth, and prematurely born, the embryo would not be one of the lower animals, but only something resembling it in outward shape ; and conversely, if it were possible for the birth of a bird to be delayed till it had reached a higher stage of development in the same line in which it was proceeding, it would not become a quadruped, but it would be an anomalous creature somewhat like one. Consequently, no one species now on the earth can have been evolved out of any other existing race ; because the germs of any two, at a very early stage in their history, according to our author's own confession, are specifically unlike.

To avoid this difficulty, he is driven to a further supposition, still more gratuitous and improbable ; namely, that the germ destined to become one of a different race from its parents, having advanced along its usual line of development so far as that line coincides with the one belonging to the new species, there diverges, and follows a different path up to the period of its birth into a new creature ; that is, the embryo of a reptile, having grown for a certain time as if it were to be a reptile, suddenly turns aside, like a young man changing his mind about the choice of a profession, and for the rest of its foetal life follows the proper line of progress in order to be developed into a bird. This is mere dreaming, and reminds one only of the wonderful transformations effected by enchantment in an Arabian tale. We might just as plausibly suppose, that the reptile, after it became mature, was suddenly transformed into a bird, as that it underwent this change before it was hatched. All the evidence attainable goes to show, that the law of development is as immutable before as after birth, the several stages of progress succeeding each other in a constant order, and affecting the individual only, not the race. A young monkey is no more likely to be transmuted into a man than an old one ; nor is such a metamorphosis at all more probable in the course of its foetal life.

The view we have now obtained of the specific differences between distinct races of being at separate periods of their existence is precisely what might have been anticipated from the law of gradual development, which holds throughout the organic kingdoms. Between two mature animals, these

differences are perfectly obvious and well marked. As we go a step back in their history, the distinction becomes a little more obscure ; two worms may resemble each other very closely, though the two winged insects subsequently produced from them may be very unlike. Receding still farther, some of these specific differences may entirely disappear, the organs or parts which should exhibit them being not yet developed. And when we come to the primitive germs, so minute as to be visible only through the microscope, no outward distinction, perhaps, is any longer perceptible, and the radical difference of their internal organization is indicated only by the fact, to be verified by subsequent observation, that the two are invariably developed into perfectly distinct animals, belonging respectively to the same races with their parents. A theorist, whose whole system is based upon the invariable operation of natural agencies, cannot reasonably object to this conclusion.

That our statements in the course of this argument may not appear of the same questionable character as those advanced by our author, we will fortify them with a few brief citations from a work of such unquestionable authority as the Lectures of Professor Owen.

“ No doubt the minute infusoria, which seem to have their development arrested at the first or nearest stage from the primitive cell formation, offer close and striking analogies to the primitive cells out of which the higher animals and all their tissues are developed ; but the very [first] step which the infusoria take beyond the primitive cell stage invests them with a specific character as independent and distinct in its nature as that of the highest and most complicated organisms. No mere organic cell, destined for ulterior changes in a living organization, has a mouth armed with teeth, or provided with long tentacula ; I will not lay stress on the alimentary canal and appended stomachs, which many still regard as ‘ sub judice ’ ; but the endowment of distinct organs of generation, for propagating their kind by fertile ova, raises the polygastric infusoria much above the mere organic cell.” — pp. 25, 26.

“ In comparing the several stages in the very interesting development of the *cyanæa aurita* to the infusoria and polypes, it must be understood that such comparisons are warranted only by a similarity of outward form, and of the instruments of locomotion and prehension. The essential internal organization of the

persistent lower forms of the *zoöphyta* is entirely wanting in the transitory states of the higher ones. A progress through the inferior groups is sketched out, but no actual transmutation of species is effected. The young medusa, before it attains its destined condition of maturity, successively resembles, but never becomes, a polygastrian, a rotifer, and a bryozoon." — p. 112.

"Thus every animal in the course of its development typifies or represents some of the permanent forms of animals inferior to itself; but it does not represent all the inferior forms, nor acquire the organization of any of the forms which it transitorily represents. Had the animal kingdom formed, as was once supposed, a single and continuous chain of being, progressively ascending from the monad to the man, unity of organization might then have been demonstrated to the extent in which the theory has been maintained by the disciples of the Geoffroyan school." — p. 370.

If these similarities of structure in the germ had any bearing on the subject, they would indicate the possibility only of retrogression in the scale. Of course, the immature ovum, arrested in its development, could not form a more perfect being than its parent. There is no pretence that the embryo, at any stage of its progress, images an animal of a higher grade than its own family. Then what aid do these similarities of structure afford to the theory, that all the higher organisms have been evolved by successive steps out of the lowest monad? At the best, you have only shown, that a *retreat* is possible; you have still to point out any likelihood, even the remotest, of an *advance* in the scale of being. There is no fact whatever to confirm the supposition, that birth may possibly be delayed till the animal be developed into one of a higher species; and the law of immature births seems to be, that, if the offspring escapes at all, — for there is great risk consequent on such an accident, — it becomes as perfect as its progenitors. Nature seems to guard the distinctions between the several races with peculiar care; so far as we know, monsters either do not survive their birth, or are incapable of continuing their kind, or in the course of a single generation are reunited to the original family.

To say that these laws, distinct and invariable as far as the observation of man has extended, may possibly have been superseded in the lapse of ages by a higher principle, mani-

festing itself only at long intervals, is again to have recourse to a blank hypothesis, incapable alike of proof or disproof, and unsupported by the faintest intimations from the world of experience. To build up a theory in this way is not to account for the work of creation by the natural agencies and inherent qualities of matter, *as at present observable*, but to fly off to the wild supposition, that matter and life were more richly endowed ages ago than they are in our own day. You affirm, that this higher principle of development did not override the inferior laws at the earlier periods in time's history, because, in the infancy of the universe, the conditions were wanting which are requisite for its manifestation, — because the earth was not ready, the atmosphere was not purified, for the nobler races of being. Very well ; but these conditions are answered *now*. All things are ready at the present day for the innate energies of matter to put forth their utmost strength. Why do not fishes generate reptiles, and birds produce mammifers, *now* ? Ah ! but “the earth being now supplied with both kinds of tenants in great abundance, we could only expect to find the life-originating power at work in some very special and extraordinary circumstances.” It seems, then, that these inherent qualities of matter, once supposed to be blind, absolute, and invariable in their operation, are really very judicious and reasonable ; they suit the supply to the demand, and actually cease working when the market is likely to be overstocked. The results of such “*natural* agencies” as these are very like the effects produced by the volitions of a wise and thinking being.

It happens that we are not obliged to grant to our author an indefinite lapse of ages for the sake of bringing all his higher principles into action. One of the latest events in the geological history of the earth was a great submersion of the land, by which “terrestrial animal life was extensively, if not universally, destroyed” ; so that the creation of the species now in being — at least, all the higher species — was “a comparatively recent event, and one posterior, generally speaking, to all the great natural transactions chronicled by geology.” Science does not contradict, it rather confirms, that voice of revelation or tradition, which assigns about six thousand years as the period of man's residence upon the earth. The action of the drama, then, is restricted within

moderate limits as to time, and the "natural agencies" and "higher principles" must work fast in order to accomplish their task within the prescribed period. One condition for the creation of a new and permanent species, belonging to any of the higher orders, seems to have escaped our author's notice ; at least two individuals, a male and a female, must have been evolved out of the next lower race, before the new species could continue its kind. Apply these considerations to the creation of man, who, according to our author's Scripture, was born of a monkey. To suppose, that, at the first trial, an Adam and an Eve were born near each other, so that they might have a chance of meeting in the course of their lives, would look too much like the operation of intelligence and design. On the theory of an organic creation by law, as the monkey race is spread over large regions of the globe, we must suppose that many of each sex were produced, and died childless, before any Adam was happy enough to find an Eve. Then, at no very distant period, within a few thousand years, the birth of a man from an animal of a lower type was no very strange event. Probably it occurred so often, that the monkeys themselves ceased to be astonished at it. And yet, this tribe of animals, with all the benefit of large experience, with increased numbers, and with all the requisite conditions fulfilled at least as perfectly as they were at the earlier period of their history, have not succeeded, in the three or four thousand years during which they have been subject to the observation of intelligent beings, in producing even a decent semblance of a man.

With the exposure of this crowning absurdity, we must close our direct examination of this "History of Creation." We have not room to consider some of the appendages to the theory, such as the assertion of the essential unity of the human and the brute intellect, the denial of the immaterial nature of mind, and the advocacy of the system of phrenology. These absurd and degrading doctrines are naturally connected with the atheistic hypothesis we have been considering. They are its legitimate children. But they have already been refuted so often and so conclusively, that any revival of them at the present day is hardly deserving of notice. If we should stop here, then, it may fairly be left to the judgment of our readers, whether we have not fulfilled the pledge given at the outset, by showing that this theory is

faulty at every point, even when viewed from the author's own ground. The proposal of it is no new thing. In one or another form, varying in particulars, but agreeing in substance, it has been before the world ever since the days of Democritus, and more especially of his follower, Epicurus. Lucretius clothed it in sonorous and majestic verse, for it is a theme fitted above all others to excite the fancy, and to receive the richest embellishments from the imagination. Modern authors have promulgated it again and again, with little other change than what was requisite to adapt it to recent improvements in science, and to engraft upon it some of their own favorite hypotheses and fancies. The version of it by the French naturalist Lamarck was the latest and the most in vogue, till the appearance of the present volume. So frequently has it been confuted, that the revival of it at this late period seems little more than a harmless exercise of ingenuity, a poetical and scientific dream, and one need hardly take the pains to expose its assumptions and fallacies. The violent suppositions which it involves only remind one of the remark quoted from Pascal on a former page, that "unbelievers are the most credulous persons in the world." If set forth only as a novel and pleasing fancy, it may be classed with other ingenious fictions, that are published without a thought of deception. But if seriously proposed, it can be fitly characterized only by borrowing the homely but energetic language of Dr. Bentley.

"And now that I have finished all the parts which I proposed to discourse of, I will conclude all with a short application to the atheists. And I would advise them, as a friend, to leave off this dabbling and smattering in philosophy, this shuffling and cutting with atoms. It never succeeded well with them, and they always come off with the loss. Their old master, Epicurus, seems to have had his brains so muddled and confounded with them, that he scarce ever kept in the right way; though the main maxim of his philosophy was to trust to his senses, and follow his nose. I will not take notice of his doting conceit, that the sun and moon are no bigger than they appear to the eye, a foot or half a yard over; and that the stars are no larger than so many glow-worms. But let us see how he manages his atoms, those almighty tools that do every thing of themselves, without the help of a workman. When the atoms, says he, *descend* in infinite space (very ingeniously spoken, to make high and low in infinity), they do not fall plumb down, but decline a little from the perpendicular,

either obliquely or in a curve ; and this declination, says he, from the direct line is the cause of our liberty of will. But, I say, this declination of atoms in their descent was itself either necessary or voluntary. If it was necessary, how then could that necessity ever beget liberty ? If it was voluntary, then atoms had that power of volition before ; and what becomes then of the Epicurean doctrine of the fortuitous productions of worlds ? The whole business is contradiction and ridiculous nonsense." — *Bentley's Works*, Vol. III., pp. 47, 48.

Custom and convenience lead us to speak of the "laws" of nature, and of the "powers and forces" of brute matter ; and few persons, in adopting these phrases, are aware that they are using a figure of speech. Yet nothing is more certain than that all the researches of science have not been able to point out with certainty a single active cause apart from the operation of mind. We discern nothing but regularity and similarity of sequences ; and the attribution of these effects to some occult qualities in the atoms or molecules in which they are manifested is wholly hypothetical, and even, when closely examined, is inconceivable. For this reason we affirm, that the theory of our author, professing to account for the whole work of creation "by the operation of law," is not only unsound and baseless in its particulars, but, when scrutinized as a whole, is absolutely unintelligible. *He attempts to account for a string of hypothetical effects, such as spontaneous generation and the transmutation of species, by a series of hypothetical and inconceivable causes, such as the energies of lifeless matter.* Let any one conceive, if he can, of any *power, energy, or force* inherent in a lump of matter, — a stone, for instance, — except this merely negative one, that it always and necessarily remains in its present state, whether this be of rest or motion. Let him point out, if he can, the *nexus* between what are usually denominated cause and effect in matter, — as when two bodies are drawn towards each other, if they are in opposite states of electricity. When he says that it is the *nature, or law*, of bodies thus electrified to attract each other, he offers no explanation of the phenomenon ; he only refers it to a class of other results, of a similar character, previously observed. It is not pretended, that all or any of these results, formerly known, are more intelligible or explicable than the one in question. But the latter is classed with them, because, from their

general similarity, from their taking place under the same outward circumstances, it is reasonably supposed that *one* cause, whatever it may be, is common to them all. And this is the whole business of the student of nature, to place together results which are so similar, that we may attribute them to a common cause, without assuming to know what that cause is. The sole office of science is the theory, not of causation, but of classification. It is all reducible to natural history, the essence of which consists in arrangement.

We are not attempting to perplex a plain matter of science by introducing into its discussion a metaphysical subtlety. The principle here contended for is one of the first dictates of the inductive philosophy, and as such it has been frankly acknowledged and acted upon by all the great improvers of science in modern days. When Newton discovered that the planets circle round the sun in the same manner in which a stone thrown by the hand describes a curve before reaching the earth, he may be said to have *explained* the former phenomenon by bringing it into the same class with certain results which have long been familiar to us. But the explanation was only relative, not absolute. The latter phenomenon is, in reality, no more explicable than the former; he did not pretend to know the *cause* of the stone's falling to the ground, any more than of the revolution of the planets. It was something to be able to arrange these apparently heterogeneous results in the same class, and gravity was a convenient name to apply to the whole. But the supposition, that gravity was an occult cause, inherent in matter, he earnestly repelled, and declared that it was "inconceivable."* Franklin showed, that a thunder-cloud and the charged conductor of an electrical machine manifested the same phenomena, and might therefore be classed together; sparks were obtained from both,

* "It is inconceivable, that inanimate brute matter should, without the mediation of something else, which is not material, operate upon and affect other matter without mutual contact, as it must, if gravitation, in the sense of Epicurus, be essential and inherent in it. And this is one reason why I desired you would not ascribe innate gravity to me. That gravity should be innate, inherent, and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance through a *vacuum*, without the mediation of any thing else, by and through which their action and force may be conveyed from one to another, is to me so great an absurdity, that I believe no man, who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking, can ever fall into it. Gravity must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws." — *Newton's letter in Bentley's Works*, Vol. III., pp. 211, 212.

Leyden jars were charged from them, other bodies were attracted and repelled in a similar way, so that it was reasonable to believe that the same agency was acting in both cases. What this agency was he did not even guess. The *cause* of electric action, whether in the excited cloud, or the excited tube, was just as obscure as ever. Chemists observed, that different substances, when brought into close contact, sometimes remained distinct, and sometimes united with each other in various but regular proportions ; and these capacities of coalescing with one class of bodies, and of remaining unaffected by another, are called chemical “affinities.” This is a convenient generalization, and has properly received a specific name ; though the common appellation throws no light on the *cause* of the phenomena, which remains an impenetrable secret. To say that certain action is *caused* by the operation of chemical affinities is only to arrange it with a large class of other observed appearances, equally obscure as to their origin and essential character.

Let us go a step further, and suppose that the progress of discovery has made known certain facts lying behind the phenomena in question, to which they may all be referred. Let us suppose, that all bodies which gravitate towards each other are found to be embosomed in a subtile, ambient fluid, which connects them, as it were, into one system ; that the positive and negative states of electricity are resolvable into the presence of two fluids standing in certain relations to each other ; and that substances show chemical affinity for each other only when they are in opposite electrical conditions. Still, we have only advanced a step in the generalization, and the real, efficient *cause* of the appearances is still hidden from us by an impenetrable veil. Gravitation is now referred to the communication of motion by impulse ; electricity, to the combination and separation of different fluids ; affinity, to the attraction or repulsion of these fluids. The latter classes of phenomena are more general, but not a whit more explicable, than the former. We have now fewer causes to seek for, but not one of these few has been discovered. When we have resolved electricity or gravitation into the presence of an elastic medium, it is a mere figure of speech to say, that we have discovered the *cause* of the electric phenomena or of gravity. That is just as far off as ever ; for we have yet to discover the principle whence flow neces-

sarily all the phenomena observable in fluids. It is the sole end and the highest ambition of science to discover as many as possible of the relationships which bind facts together, and thus to carry the generalization to the farthest point. Its office is not to discover causes, but to generalize effects. The investigation of real causes is quite given up, as a hopeless undertaking.

Observe, now, how all the phraseology employed in speaking of these successive generalizations of science is borrowed from the action of mind. The word *action* itself has no real significance, except when applied to the doings of an intelligent agent ; we cannot speak of the *doings* of matter, as we could if the word *action* were applicable to it in any other than a figurative sense. Again, in speaking of the similarity of facts and the regularity of sequences, we refer them to a *law* of nature, just as if they were sentient beings acting under the will of a sovereign. Parts of pure matter — the chemical elements, for instance — do not *act* at all ; being brute and inert, it is only by a strong metaphor that they are said to be subject to law. Again, we attribute *force*, *power*, &c., to the primitive particles of matter, and speak of their natural *agencies*. Just so, we talk of *tone* in coloring, and of a *heavy* or *light* sound ; though, of course, in their proper significance, tone belongs only to sound, and heaviness to gravitating bodies. These modes of speech are proper enough, if their figurative character be kept in view ; but it is a little too bad, when a whole scientific theory is made to rest upon a metaphor as its sole support. *Agency* is the employment of one intelligent being to act for another ; *force* and *power* are applicable only to will ; they are characteristic of volition. It is a violent trope to apply either of these words to senseless matter. Chemical *affinities* are spoken of, as if material elements were united by family ties, and manifested choice, and affection or aversion.

An obvious corollary from these remarks is, that all *causation* is an exertion of mind, and is only figuratively applied to matter. It necessarily implies power, will, and action. An efficient cause — we are not speaking now of a mere antecedent — is that which is necessarily followed by the effect, so that, if it were known, the effect might be predicted antecedently to all experience. Cicero describes it with philosophical accuracy. “ *Causa ea est, quæ id efficit, cujus est causa.*

Non sic causa intelligi debet, ut quod cuique antecedit, id ei causa sit ; sed quod cuique EFFICIENTER antecedit. Causis enim efficientibus quamque rem cognitis, posse denique sciri quid futurum esset." Now, in the world of matter, we discover nothing but antecedents and consequents ; the former are the mere signs, not the causes, of the latter ; no necessary connection — no connection at all, except sequence in time — can be discerned between them. Consequently, from an examination of the former, we could not determine *a priori*, that they must be followed by the latter, or by any other result whatever. Our knowledge here, if knowledge it can be called, is wholly empirical, or founded on experience. As we have seen, it is absurd to say, that one atom of matter literally *acts* on another. On the other hand, in the world of mind, we are directly conscious of action, and even of causation. All mental exertion is true action ; every determination of the will implies *effort*, or the direction and use of power. The result to be accomplished is preconsidered, or meditated, and therefore is known *a priori*, or before experience ; the volition succeeds, which is a true effort, or a power in action ; and this, *if the power be sufficient*, is *necessarily* followed by the effect. Volition is a true cause ; but in a finite mind it is not always an *adequate* cause. If I will to shut my eyes, the effect immediately follows as a necessary consequence. But if I will to stop the beating of my heart, or to move a paralyzed limb, the effect does not follow, because the power exerted is inadequate to the end proposed. The action of the will is still *causative*, but it is *insufficient*.

It was from overlooking the distinction here made, that Hume, Kant, and other metaphysicians were led to deny all knowledge of causation even in the action of mind. They confounded sufficiency with efficiency, and supposed, because the power did not always accomplish the end proposed, that it did not tend towards it, or exert any effect upon it. As the sufficiency of the volition can only be known *a posteriori*, or after experience, they imagined that there could be no cause but that which is infinite, or one which is invariably followed by the whole effect contemplated. They overlooked the fact, that, in the consciousness of *effort*, — as in the attempt to control the action of mind, to command the attention, &c., — we have direct and full evidence of *power*

in action, which is necessarily causal in its nature. The mental *nîsus* is true force, exerted with a foreknowledge of the effect to be produced, and necessarily followed by a result, — a partial one it may be, — but one which is a true effect, whether it answers the whole intention, or not. Here, then, we discern that necessary connection between two events, that absolute efficient agency, which was vainly sought in the world of matter.

If these considerations are well founded, the whole framework of what are called “secondary causes” falls to pieces. The laws of nature are only a figure of speech; the powers and active inherent properties of material atoms are mere fictions. Mind alone is active; matter is wholly passive and inert. There is no such thing as what we usually call the course of nature; it is nothing but the will of God producing certain effects in a constant and uniform manner; which mode of action, however, being perfectly arbitrary, is as easy to be altered at any time as to be preserved. All events, all changes, in the external world, from the least even unto the greatest, are attributable to his will and power, which, being infinite, is always and necessarily adequate to the end proposed. The laws of motion, gravitation, affinity, and the like, are only expressions of the regularity and continuity of one infinite cause. The order of nature is the effect of divine wisdom, its stability is the result of divine beneficence.

“Estne Dei sedes nisi terra, et pontus, et aer,
Et cœlum, et virtus? Superos quid quærimus ultra?
Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris.”

It may be asked, if divine power, instead of operating immediately throughout the universe, might not have endowed material atoms at the outset with certain properties and energies, the gradual evolution of which in after ages would produce all the phenomena of nature, without the necessity of his incessant presence, agency, and control. Certainly, we may not put bounds to omnipotence; though we may assert of a given hypothesis respecting its exercise, that it is inconceivable, or involves wholly incongruous ideas. The necessary attributes of matter, according to our conception of it, are extension, figure, impenetrability, and inertness; the properties of mind are thought, sensation, activity, and will. These attributes are essential, not arbitrary or contingent; for they make up our whole idea of the substances in which

they inhere. We can no more suppose them to be interchangeable, than we can literally attribute dimensions to an odor, or capacity to a sound. To speak of an extended thought, an impenetrable sensation, an inert activity, is to talk nonsense; it is equally absurd to attribute thought to extension, sensation to figure, activity to inertness,* or causal agency to matter. True, mind may be superadded to matter, without being confounded with it, and without any exchange of properties. And in fact, this is the only conceivable form of the hypothesis now before us; namely, the theory of the ancient metaphysicians, that every particle of matter and every aggregate of it is accompanied, or animated, by a distinct mind. "*Ea quoque [sidera] rectissime et animantia esse, et sentire atque intelligere, dicantur.*" If this be a more intelligible and plausible supposition than that of one infinite mind, pervading the universe, and producing all physical changes by its irresistible power, the materialist is welcome to the benefit of it.

As respects the manner in which all physical effects are produced by the direct action of the Deity, we are not bound to offer any explanation, as the subject confessedly transcends the limit of the human faculties. It is enough for us, that the supposition is the only conceivable one, the only mode of accounting for the phenomena of the material world. But as man is made in the image of his Creator, in the union for a time of his spirit with his corporeal frame we may find at least an intelligible illustration of the connection of God with the universe. Discarding the word *mind*, as the fruitful source of vague speculation and error, let us look for a moment at that of which it is a mere synonyme, — at the man himself. The sentient, thinking being, which I call *self*, is an absolute unit. Duality or complexity cannot be predicated of it in any intelligible sense. Personality is indivisible; *I* am *one*. This being is capable of acting in different ways; and for convenience of speech and classification, these modes

* And yet, so strong is the propensity to metaphor, that scientific men talk of the *vis inertiae* as a true force; though the ideas expressed by the two Latin words are certainly incongruous. The mistake here arises from confounding inertness, or resistance to force, — a merely negative idea, — with the true force which is necessary to overcome it; or rather, since force can only be measured by its results, and must always be adequate to the effect produced, inquirers have adopted the convenient hypothesis of two antagonistic forces, not always recollecting that one of them is merely passive.

of action have been arranged as the results of different faculties ; though, in truth, it is no more proper to attribute to the person distinct powers and organs for comparison, memory, and judgment, than to give to the body separately a walking faculty, a lifting faculty, a jumping faculty, and so on. In the one case, these faculties are but different aspects of mental power ; in the other, but different applications of muscular strength. Of course, the complex material frame, with its numberless adaptations and arrangements, in which this being is lodged, is truly foreign from the man himself, having a kind of connection with him, in reality, but one degree more intimate than that of his clothes. The body is the curiously contrived machine through which the man communicates with the material world. The eye is but his instrument to see with, the ear is his trumpet for communicating sound to him, the leg is his steed, and the arm his soldier. Many of these instruments and parts may be removed, or become unfit for use, without impairing, in the slightest degree, his distinct personality and intelligence. The particles of all of them are in a state of constant flux and renovation, so that man changes his body only a little more frequently than he does his coat. His whole corporeal frame is connected with him but for a while, and is then thrown aside, like an old garment, for which he has no farther use.

But during the period of its existence, how close and intimate in appearance is this union with the body ! Sensation extends to every part of it, every fibre is instinct with life, and the direction of the will is absolute and immediate over every muscle and joint, as if the whole fabric and its tenant were one homogeneous system. The will tires not of its supremacy, and is not wearied with the number of volitions required of it to keep every joint in action, and every organ performing its proper function. It would not delegate the control of the fingers to an inferior power, nor contrive mechanical or automatic means for moving the extremities. Within its sphere, it is sole sovereign, and is not perplexed with the variety and constant succession of its duties, extending to every part of the complex structure of which it is the animating and directing spirit. Sensation is not cumbered with the multitude of impressions it receives, nor is the fineness of perception dulled by repeated exercise. The sharpness of its edge rather improves by use, and we become

more heedful of its lightest intimations. Is it irreverent, then, to suppose that this union of body and soul shadows forth the connection between the material universe and the Infinite One? How else, indeed, can we attach any meaning to the attributes of omnipresence and omnipotence? The unity of action, the regularity of antecedence and consequence in outward events, which we commonly designate by the lame metaphor of *law*, then become the fitting expression of the consistent doings of an all-wise Being, in whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. The Creator, then, is no longer banished from his creation, nor is the latter an orphan, or a deserted child. It is not a great machine, that was wound up at the beginning, and has continued to run on ever since, without aid or direction from its artificer. As well might we conceive of the body of a man moving about, and performing all its appropriate functions, without the principle of life, or the indwelling of an immortal soul. The universe is not lifeless or soulless. It is informed by God's spirit, pervaded by his power, moved by his wisdom, directed by his beneficence, controlled by his justice.

"Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."

The harmony of physical and moral laws is not a mere fancy, nor a forced analogy; they are both expressions of the same will, manifestations of the same spirit.

The objection, that it is beneath the dignity of the Almighty — *αὐτοῦργεῖν ἅπαντα* — to put his hand to every thing — is founded on a false analogy, as is seen by the form in which Aristotle states it. "If it befit not the state and majesty of Xerxes, the great king of Persia, that he should stoop to do all the meanest offices himself, much less can this be thought suitable for God." The two cases do not correspond in the very feature essential to the argument. An earthly potentate, unable to execute with his own hand all the affairs of which he has control, is obliged to delegate the larger portion of them to his servants; selecting the lightest part for himself, he gratifies his pride by calling it also the noblest, though the distinction is factitious, there being no real difference, in point of honor or dignity, between them. Omnipotence needs no minister, and is not exhausted or wearied by the cares of a universe. Power in action is more truly sublime than power in repose; and surely it is not derogatory to di-

vine energy to sustain and continue that which it was certainly not beneath divine wisdom to create and appoint. Rightly considered, to guide the falling of a leaf from a tree is an office as worthy of omnipotence, as the creation of a world. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered."

Equally lame is the oft-repeated comparison of the universe to a machine of man's device, which is considered the more perfect the less mending or interposition it requires. A machine is a labor-saving contrivance, fitted to supply the weakness and deficiencies of him who uses it. Where the want does not exist, it is absurd to suppose the creation of the remedy. Human conceptions of the Deity are for ever at fault in imputing to him the errors and deficiencies which belong to our own limited faculties and dependent condition. Hence the idea of the Epicureans, that sublime indifference and unbroken repose are the only states of being worthy of the gods. Viewed in the light of true philosophy, no less than of Christianity, how base and grovelling does this conception appear! The sublime description of the pagan poet becomes the fitting expression and defence of the very theory it was designed to controvert:—

"Nam (proh sancta Deum tranquillâ pectora pace,
Quæ placidum degunt ævum, vitamque serenam!)
Quis regere immensi summam, quis habere profundi
Indu manu validas potis est moderanter habenas?
Quis pariter cœlos omneis convertere? et omneis
Ignibus ætheriis terras suffire feraceis?
Omnibus inque locis esse omni tempore presto?
Nubibus ut tenebras faciat, cœlique serena
Concutiat sonitu? tum fulmina mittat, et ædeis
Sæpe suas disturbet?"

Returning to the theory of our author, may we not now characterize it as at once unfounded in its details, inconceivable in its operation, and vulgar and mechanical in its design? Considered in their proper aspect, and by the light of a sound philosophy, whatever well accredited facts or legitimate deductions he has gleaned from the whole field of modern science afford the most striking evidence and illustration of that view of creation which is directly at variance with his own hypothesis. He has, in fact, exposed the insufficiency of what are called organic or mechanical laws to supply the losses, and bridge over the interruptions, that have occurred

in the world's history. Geology has rendered at least one signal service to the cause of natural religion, by effectually doing away with the old atheistic objection, that, for aught we know, the present constitution of things never had a beginning, but has gone on for ever renewing itself in an endless series of generations. Science now tells us distinctly, that time was when "the earth was without form and void," no animated thing appearing "upon the face of the deep"; that afterwards, "the waters were gathered together unto one place, and the dry land appeared." Then "the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed *after his kind*, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind." Next was fulfilled the command, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven." Then appeared "the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind." Last of all, "God created man in his own image, male and female created he them." We are not merely quoting Scripture; we are repeating the facts positively affirmed by the geologists, and incorporated by our author into his "history"—as authentic leaves taken from the "stone book"—*in the same order* in which they are narrated in the first chapter of Genesis. The coincidence in the order of succession is certainly remarkable.

Geology farther informs us, that, at different times, all the animated tribes which had peopled the earth's surface passed away, or became extinct, and were replaced by new species of different organization and characteristics; and probably at many other periods, as well as on occasions of some great catastrophe in the earth's crust, races wholly unlike any that had preceded them were introduced, from time to time, as new inhabitants of the globe. Here, then, was an absolute necessity for the continuous operation of an intelligent creative power, apart from the blind mechanical laws, which, at the utmost, could only allow each species, once introduced, to continue its kind. The marvellous adaptations of these new races to the altered conditions of the earth's surface when they appeared, then, become additional proofs of the wisdom and constant oversight of a designing Creator. They came not till all things were ready; they appeared when the extinction

of former tribes had left a gap for them in the scale of being. The gradual development of what are called the powers of nature, — or, to speak more intelligibly, the successive improvements in the habitations intended for higher and higher races of animated life, — and the similarity of plan on which these races were organized, the scheme being preserved in all its essential features through countless generations, show unity of design, and prove that the works of creation, however separated in time, must be attributed to *one* intelligent author. The same conclusion follows almost irresistibly from the gradations at present observable both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, so that all the races may be arranged, not indeed in a linear series, but in families or groups, bearing analogous relations to each other, and showing a general progress from the more simple to the more complex forms. Surely, these facts, so clearly explained by our author, instead of sustaining the corpuscular philosophy, directly militate with it, and afford the most satisfactory proof of the doctrine of the theist, and the theory of continuous divine agency. We have hardly ever met with a book that furnished more complete materials for its own refutation.

After all, the question is a very simple one. We have only to decide whether it is more likely, that the complex system of things in the midst of which we live, — the beautiful harmonies between the organic and inorganic world, the nice arrangements and curious adaptations that obtain in each, the simplicity and uniformity of the general plan to which the vast multitude of details may be reduced, — was built up, and is now sustained, by one all-wise and all-powerful Being, or by particles of brute matter, acting of themselves, without direction, interference, or control. We cannot now say, that possibly the system never had a beginning, but has always existed under the form in which it now appears to us ; geology has disproved *that* supposition most effectually. Choose ye, then, between mind and matter, between an intelligent being and a stone, for the parentage and support of this wonderful system. For our own part, we will adopt the conclusion of one of the most eloquent of those old pagan philosophers, on whose eyes the light of immediate revelation never dawned : — “*Hic ego non mirer esse quemquam, qui sibi persuadeat, corpora quædam solida atque individua vi et gravitate ferri, mundumque effici ornatissimum et pul-*

cherrimum ex eorum corporum concursione fortuitâ ? Quòd si mundum efficere potest concursus atomorum, cur porticum, cur templum, cur domum, cur urbem non potest, quæ sunt minus operosa, et multò quidem faciliora ? Certè ita temerè de mundo effutiunt, ut mihi quidem nunquam hunc admirabilem cæli ornatum, qui locus est proximus, suspexisse videantur."

ART. VIII. — *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal ; with Extracts from his Writings, and from Despatches in the State-Paper Office, never before published.* By JOHN SMITH, Esq., Private Secretary to the Marshal Marquis de Saldanha. London : Longmans. 1843. 2 vols. 8vo.

NOTWITHSTANDING her diminutive territory, Portugal has played a most important part in modern history. Her annals are crowded with events and achievements of the most romantic interest. The original Celtic population was not unknown to the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks ; and, with the other inhabitants of the Peninsula, they fell under the arm of all-conquering Rome, and adopted the institutions and civilization of the mistress of the world. The country was afterwards overwhelmed by the Northern barbarians, who poured like a deluge over the fairest portions of the Roman empire. Suevians, Goths, and Vandals successively invaded and occupied the land ; and, in the eighth century, the Saracens, whose genius, culture, and character powerfully influenced the intellectual condition of nearly all the South of Europe, conquered the Peninsula and established themselves in it as sovereigns. The victories gained over these intruders by Henry of Burgundy, and by his son Alphonso, who was saluted king on the famous field of Ourique, laid the foundation, early in the twelfth century, of the independent monarchy of Portugal. The progress of the nation during the next three centuries was rapid and brilliant. The monarchy was consolidated by the constitution and laws of the Cortes of Lamego ; its territories were enlarged by successive conquests ; the extravagant pretensions of the clergy

were curbed ; commerce, manufactures, and agriculture were carefully cherished, and the wealth of the country was vastly augmented ; schools and colleges were founded, and learning enjoyed the favor of several accomplished princes. Foreign conquests and colonial establishments, on which arose the subsequent greatness of Portugal, were begun ; the immense body of Jews, who had been cruelly driven out of Castile, brought their wealth, their arts, and their learning, and added them to the resources of the rapidly growing kingdom. The southern cape of Africa was discovered by Diaz, and with a prophetic feeling was named the Cape of Good Hope ; and those Eastern voyages were made which were the first step towards the stupendous discovery of a new continent by Columbus.

These great actions and events were followed by a period of commercial prosperity, extending nearly to the close of the sixteenth century, when Portugal fell under the dominion of Spain, and began a rapid descent from her power and greatness. The misgovernment, cruelty, and oppression of Spain broke down the prosperity of the dependent realm, and exposed her to a long succession of misfortunes, until the revolution of 1640 restored her independence, and replaced on the throne the ancient royal family in the person of the Duke of Braganza. This revolution was followed by a war with Spain, which was terminated by a treaty of peace in 1668, when the relations of Portugal with the other powers of Europe were reëstablished. The close connection of England with Portugal, which has had such a powerful influence on the political fortunes of the latter country, was consolidated by the treaty of 1703, negotiated by the English ambassador, Mr. Methuen. The long reign of John the Fifth (João V.) has but little interest for the student of history in general ; the principal events which it added to the domestic annals of Portugal were the limitations imposed upon the Inquisition, the foundation of an Academy of Portuguese History, and the establishment of a Patriarch at Lisbon.

The literary annals of Portugal are full of interest, and deserve more attention from scholars than has usually been extended to them. The formation of the Portuguese language runs back to an earlier date than that of the Castilian ; and though inferior to the latter in sound and dignity of movement, — though its pronunciation is deformed by the nasal

twang, which it borrowed from the "politest nation in Europe,"—yet it is melodious, rich, delicate, and expressive, and well suited to every species of literary composition. The cultivation and development of the national language became an object of patriotic pride to the Lusitanian people; and they soon rendered it, by its simplicity, clearness, and conciseness, superior to the Spanish as a language for conversation. And in the present age, while the political influence of Portugal is nearly extinct, her language still survives as the general medium of commercial intercourse in India and Africa.

The Portuguese have made successful attempts in every department of literature; in some departments they have acquired enduring renown. The most ancient monuments of their poetry belong to the twelfth century; and the two following centuries witnessed great progress in the development of the powers of the language, under the patronage of poetical monarchs like Dionysius, Alphonso the Fourth, and Pedro the First. But the great age of Lusitanian poetry, as well as the heroic age of Lusitanian adventure, began with the fifteenth century. Then were produced the songs of the hundred and fifty poets of the *Cancioneiro*, discovered in 1790. At the close of that century and the commencement of the next, flourished Ribeyro, the bard of pastoral life, and his imitators. In the first half of the sixteenth century, appeared the classic Ferreira, who wrought the very pathetic story of Inez de Castro into a tragedy, on the model of the Greek; and despite the awkward adaptation of the antique chorus to a modern subject, it contains passages of great tenderness and beauty. This century is also illustrated by the names of Caminha, Gil Vicente, Diogo Bernardes, and, above all, by the mighty genius of Camoens, —

"One of the few, the immortal names,
That were not born to die."

The noble character, the daring enterprises, the unexampl'd sufferings, and the miserable death of this richly gifted man, who is at once the glory and the disgrace of the Lusitanian name, form one of the saddest chapters in the sad history of poets and scholars. But in his immortal epic he left to his country a perpetual possession of honor and fame. The "*Lusiad*," notwithstanding the great defects of its plan, the absurd intermingling in the machinery of the poem of the

pagan mythology with the conceptions of the Catholic church, and several other *obligato* classical pedantries, is yet an imperishable monument of the highest poetical genius, and makes the name of Portugal for ever honored in the history of literature. It is replete with that national spirit, that exulting enthusiasm for the heroic achievements of the fatherland, which constitutes the soul of epic poetry. It embodies a great national enterprise with a dignity of style, harmony of numbers, richness of imagination, and copiousness of invention, which belong only to the Muse's loftiest strains. It is a work which is more national in its character than any other people of modern Europe possesses. Italy has noble poems of the narrative epic kind ; but even the "Jerusalem Delivered" is not so national in its tone and subject as the "Lusiad." What has France to place against the varied music of the "Lusiad," except the droning monotony of Voltaire's "Henry the Fourth" ? What can Germany set by its side except that grim and gaunt old song of mystery and blood, the "Nibelungenlied" ? Spain has many epics besides the long poem of *Ercilla* ; but, national prejudice apart, even the "Araucana" is rather a versified military journal of Spanish-Indian wars, with here and there a bright gleam of poetry, than a poetical transfiguration of great and heroic deeds. The Portuguese have shown themselves not unworthy of the great boon their illustrious countryman has bestowed upon them. They have published numerous editions of the poem, one of them in a most sumptuous style ; their best scholar, *Maria y Souza*, has written long and laborious commentaries upon it ; and the genius of *Camoens* keeps alive, through all the vicissitudes of national disaster, the pride and spirit of patriotism, and the sense of national glory.

The dramatic works of *Gil Vicente* were the predecessors of the Spanish and English theatre. *Lope de Vega* and *Calderon* formed their systems upon the ruder works of this old Portuguese *Plautus*. Nor is Portuguese literature deficient in other kinds of poetry, though this is not the place to enter upon a particular enumeration of them. The authors of Portugal have not been so successful in cultivating the severer graces of prose. Among them are many historians of great industry and learning ; but they are generally deficient in taste and a critical spirit.

We have rapidly touched upon a few of the interesting

points in the history of Portugal, before the reign of Joseph the First, and the administration of the Marquis of Pombal, whose life forms the subject of the volumes, the title of which is placed at the head of the present article ; and we shall now proceed to give some account of their contents.

Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, afterwards the Marquis of Pombal, was born May 13, 1699, at Soure, a village near the town of Pombal. His father was a country-gentleman of moderate fortune, and on his mother's side he was connected with some of the most distinguished families in Portugal. He studied at the University of Coimbra, and afterwards entered the army, which, however, he soon left, and occupied himself with the study of history, politics, and legislation. In 1733, his talents and acquirements attracted the notice of some persons of distinction, and he was appointed a member of the Royal Academy of History. About this time, he became acquainted with Dona Theresa de Noronha, a rich widow, and the niece of the Count dos Arcos. Her haughty relations having rejected his advances with contempt, he cut the matter short by an elopement. Determined to prove to them that he had not unworthily aspired to an alliance with their family, he returned to court, and made such good use of his tact and abilities, that, in 1739, he was sent as ambassador to England. He performed the duties of his mission with exemplary fidelity, obtained important commercial and other privileges for his countrymen, and devoted whatever leisure time he could command to the study of the principles of government, and to the history of the administrations of Sully and Richelieu, and to the financial system of Colbert. He was thus making efficient preparation for the distinguished part he was destined afterwards to play on the theatre of European politics.

Pombal was recalled from the court of Saint James in 1745, and remained some time at Lisbon, unconnected with the public service. He was busy in making a close examination of the action of the Portuguese government and the condition of every department of the state. Before the end of the year, however, he was sent to conduct a delicate and difficult negotiation, in which the pope, Benedict the Fourteenth, had sought the mediation of Portugal ; for a dispute had arisen between the see of Rome and the court of Vienna, which threatened a serious rupture in the Church.

Pombal succeeded in arranging the difficulty to the satisfaction of both parties. During his residence at the court of Vienna, he received intelligence of the death of his wife ; and before returning to Portugal, he gained the hand of the young Countess Leonore Ernestine Daun, a relative of the celebrated Marshal Daun. The marriage ceremonies were performed at Vienna under the immediate auspices of the Empress Maria Theresa, who ever after continued a firm and faithful friend to the Marquis and his amiable wife.

He left Vienna early in 1750, and Dom Joseph, having ascended the throne, soon after invited him to assume the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. From this moment dates the long and distinguished administration which has made the name of Pombal illustrious in the history of the monarchy of Portugal. He had long been maturing in his mind important measures of reform. Several years were given to the amelioration of the internal government, and to bringing the finances of the country into order. But the most important measure, which occupied the early part of Pombal's administration, was the wise and humane restriction which he laid upon the power of the Inquisition. This terrible tribunal had never exercised in Portugal the crushing sway under which the proud and chivalrous heart of Spain had groaned. The active intercourse of the Portuguese with other nations had inspired them with more liberal and generous feelings, and had presented formidable obstacles to the enactment of those awful scenes of blood which had made the capital of Spain the horror of the world. Yet the detestable spirit of religious persecution had at times presented to the public gaze the spectacle of the miscalled *auto-da-fé*. The biographer of the Portuguese statesman remarks : —

“Pombal saw that such an institution as the Inquisition was perfectly incompatible with the progress of the arts, the existence of science, or the presence of liberty, and resolved, at whatever hazard, to reduce the authority of that miscalled Holy Office. So early, therefore, in his ministry as 1751, a decree regulating its practices was promulgated. By this decree, it was enacted, that no *auto-da-fé* was henceforward to take place, and no executions were to be carried into effect, without the consent and approbation of government, which reserved for itself, as a court of appeal, the province of inquiry and examination, and of confirming or reversing the sentence, according as it appeared

right or wrong on the face of the evidence. By this effectual blow the office of the Inquisition was humbled, and from thenceforward it dwindled down to the rank of an ordinary tribunal ; — a fact which compels us to admire the wisdom which conceived, and the courage which carried out, so bold a stroke of policy, in the execution of which so many fierce opponents were to be subdued, and so many virtual enemies were to be created. But, with that invincible perseverance which distinguishes the genius of a statesman, Pombal carried his measures, notwithstanding the virulence of superstition, the power of the priesthood, and the prejudices of the people.” — Vol. I., pp. 65, 66.

Other interests of the kingdom pressed immediately and strongly on the attention of Pombal. The defences of the country were in such a miserable state, that Algerine corsairs could approach within a few miles of Lisbon, insulting the capital with perfect impunity. The active minister caused large appropriations to be made, and, infusing his own energy into this branch of public service, soon placed the public defences on a proper footing. The encouragement of domestic manufactures and the development of national industry occupied a large share of his enlightened attention ; and the measures he adopted for the promotion of these cardinal objects of a wise administration of government were attended with extraordinary success. The wealth of the country was rapidly augmented ; population increased in an unprecedented ratio ; and an activity, energy, and happiness were spread among the people, such as they had never known before. Some of his further reforms are compendiously described by his biographer, but we have no space to notice them.

These various measures of the minister were not carried without the violent opposition of the nobility and the clergy. But he had the good fortune to enjoy the confidence of the monarch, and to triumph over the calumnies and machinations of his enemies, the plots of the Jesuits, and the hatred of the aristocracy. In the midst of these enlightened measures of economical reform, occurred that terrible national calamity, the earthquake of Lisbon. We can quote but a small part of the description of that catastrophe.

“ Never did the sun, in the balmiest of southern climes, rise with more brilliancy than on the memorable 1st of November, 1755. It was the morning of All Saints’ Day, and the de-

vout population of Lisbon were hurrying to attend divine worship in the numerous churches, which on that day, according to custom, were brilliantly illuminated in honor to the festival, when, at four minutes after nine, the first convulsive shocks were perceived ; and soon after, this proud city became a heap of undistinguishable ruins. The astonished people, who were not buried in the first fall, terrified and confounded, rushed forth tumultuously to avoid the threatened immolation ; and with confused shouts and half-expressed prayers, implored favor from the Most High, while falling edifices, or yawning chasms, on every side crushed or ingulfed them with a fearful and relentless certainty. Some fled to the water, in the hope of safety : but their hope was vain ; for the river, violently agitated by the mighty shocks of the earth, rose to an extraordinary height : its impetuosity increased with its bulk, until it became swollen to a torrent, and, bursting its banks, swept away all within its reach. Vast ships sunk beneath the troubled surface of its angry waves ; whilst others, torn from their anchors, and hurled round with furious precipitation, disappeared in the vortex, or, driven furiously against each other, were dashed to pieces by the violence of the shocks.

“To increase the horrors of this sad scene, whilst the temples of the living God, and the palace of the noble, and the dwelling of the artisan were mingling in one common ruin, fires appeared in various places at one and the same moment, raging with unchecked fury, and threatening to consume all that the earthquake had spared. If, even at this distance of time, the excess of the general misery is too painful to dwell long upon, how terrible must have been the scenes of individual suffering !

“Lisbon, however, was not the only city that suffered by the earthquake. Other parts of Portugal (and, indeed, of Europe), especially Setubal and the Algarves, were seriously injured on that eventful occasion. With regard to the loss of life occasioned by this catastrophe, it was calculated that, in the city of Lisbon alone, 30,000 persons perished by fire or water, or were buried under the ruins. For four days the city continued a prey to the flames, during which period violent shocks were repeated at various intervals.

“Among the buildings destroyed, were the magnificent palace of the Patriarch, built by Dom John V. ; the royal palace ; and churches and convents without number ; while of private palaces and common dwelling-houses overthrown, some idea may be formed from the fact that entire streets became one mass of ruins. It was estimated that seven millions sterling could scarcely repay the damage done by this dreadful visitation, though some

of the treasure of the Patriarchate was recovered, among which was a silver cross valued at £ 30,000, while no less than 1,500 arrobas * of silver were dug out of the ruins of that and other edifices some time after the earthquake.

“ When this catastrophe occurred, the royal family were fortunately at the small palace of Belem in the suburbs of Lisbon. Their consternation was great; the whole court was in tears. The king, looking round in silence upon his trembling attendants, addressed himself to Pombal, who (hastening to offer what assistance and consolation he could at that awful moment) had just entered the palace. ‘What is to be done,’ exclaimed Dom Joseph, ‘to meet this infliction of Divine Justice?’ ‘Bury the dead, and feed the living,’† was the calm and immediate reply of Pombal, whose noble figure and collected demeanour commanded the admiration of all around him, as he uttered this concise reply. From this time, it is said, Dom Joseph looked upon his minister as a mortal of superior mould. — Vol. 1., pp. 87 – 92.

After order had been somewhat restored, the Jesuits, the old enemies of the minister, began to assail him again with the weapons of superstition, declaring that this great calamity was a just punishment inflicted by heaven upon the impiety and sacrilege of Pombal and his supporters. Unfortunately for them, they rashly predicted a repetition of the earthquake the following year; but when their prophecy was falsified by the event, their cause was fatally injured in the popular estimation, and they were overwhelmed with ridicule. The minister took advantage of the opportunity to rebuild the ruined parts of the city on a more regular plan; a public garden was laid out; handsome squares were constructed; and all the buildings of any great pretensions now existing in Lisbon were planned or executed by him.

Among the measures which distinguished this period of Pombal’s administration, two may be selected of special importance for their influence on the industry and character of the country; these are the formation of the celebrated Oporto Wine Company, and the expulsion of the Jesuits. The former, though a monopoly possessing great privileges, acted most beneficially on one of the leading branches of Portuguese industry and trade; the other was a bold, wise, and successful measure, or rather series of measures, to relieve the country from the insidious and hateful domination of a

* An arroba is 32 lbs.

† Senhor, enterrar os mortos, e cuidar os vivos.

powerful and corrupt body of ecclesiastics. They had established themselves in Portugal in 1540, in the reign of John the Third. By degrees they silently and stealthily secured the confidence of the royal family ; they obtained control of the University of Coimbra ; their numbers, at first limited by a papal bull to sixty, increased without restriction, under the authority of another bull granted in 1543 ; they extended their power to the Portuguese colonies, and even aimed to establish an independent government in Paraguay, under the supremacy of the general of the order. Pombal could not remain insensible to the pernicious influence on the country of such an intriguing and ambitious order of men, leagued together by a bond independent of, if not hostile to, the secular government ; and he fearlessly set about the dangerous and formidable task of overthrowing them. He persuaded the king to dismiss his confessor, the Jesuit Moreira ; he made energetic representations to the pope of their mischievous intrigues and interference in the affairs of the country ; and finally succeeded in depriving them of their usurped power, and expelling them from all the Portuguese dominions by a decree issued in October, 1759.

The firm and manly resistance made by Pombal to the pretensions of the court of Rome, soon after the detection and punishment of the Arveiro conspiracy, led to a rupture between the two governments. The causes of dissatisfaction were stated in a long and able manifesto, which the government of Portugal transmitted to Rome. The difficulties between the two courts were not disposed of until the accession of Ganganelli, under the name of Clement the Fourteenth, to the papal chair. A separation of the church had well-nigh been effected by the obstinacy of the papal government on the one hand, and the firmness of the Portuguese minister in resisting ecclesiastical encroachments on the other. But the new pope, a man of greater abilities and sounder views than his predecessor, anxious, moreover, to avoid all schism in the Church, immediately on his elevation, wrote to Pombal, begging him, in urgent terms, to bring about a reconciliation. The relations of the two courts were restored to a footing of cordial amity ; and the pope gave the Portuguese minister the most emphatic testimonies of the high respect in which he held his character. The sincerity of his professions was amply proved by his famous bull, bearing date July 21, 1773, suppressing the society of the Jesuits.

We have no space to follow the history of Pombal's administration through the remaining years of the period during which he was at the head of affairs. His vigor was felt through every department of the government; wise reforms were made in the civil, the military, and the naval services; the means of education were enlarged, and the method greatly improved. King Joseph died February 24, 1777, after a reign of twenty-seven years; and with his death terminated the long ministry of Pombal. He soon after retired to the city which bears his name. He was not allowed, however, to pass the remainder of his days in peace. The numerous enemies, whose hostility had been held in check during the life of King Joseph, now busied themselves not only in undoing the effects of his wise policy, but in assailing his character and tarnishing his fame. The queen weakly yielded to these cabals against the great minister, and a severe decree was issued against him in 1781; and thus a remarkable example was given of the ingratitude with which monarchies as well as republics reward their greatest benefactors. Pombal died in 1782, in the eighty-third year of his age. An inscription, delineating in striking terms the great features of his character, was placed upon his tomb; but the government, not satisfied with having harassed the last years of his life with their malicious persecutions, had the incredible meanness to order this just tribute to be erased.

The name of this great statesman forms no small part of the national glory of Portugal. His administration was the last bright period in her history. The treatment he received at the close of his honorable life has left a stigma upon her name; and her career since that time has done but little to obliterate it. The work of Mr. Smith, from which we have chiefly, though not wholly, drawn, is a valuable addition to biographical and political literature. It contains many documents subsidiary to the narrative of events in Pombal's public life, which are also illustrative of the character and history of the times. But the utter insignificance of Portugal at the present day has so far thrown her past history into obscurity, that the career of this great man is now scarcely known, and the public are surprised to be told, that there is any thing of importance in the annals or policy of such a country.

ART. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Waif: a Collection of Poems.* Cambridge : John Owen. 1845. 12mo. pp. 144.

THIS is an elegant little volume, containing a number of beautiful poems, which have hitherto led a precarious and somewhat vagabond existence on the outskirts of English literature, and have never before been brought into each other's company. They mostly appeal to one mood of the mind, and are distinguished rather by sweetness and delicacy than power. They are intended to soothe more than to stir. A serene sadness, a melancholy fringed with light, a kind of nun-like saintliness of tone and demeanour, are their general characteristics. The fine "Proem" of Professor Longfellow indicates their prominent features, and the condition of mind which they address. They are intended for those hours when we are oppressed by an indefinable sadness, a restless and powerless discontent with the things about us ; when we are conscious of aspirations tied down by human weakness, and have the desire, but not the ability, to soar ; —

" A feeling of sadness and longing,
That is not akin to pain,
And resembles sorrow only
As the mist resembles the rain."

To a person who reads the poems in another mood of mind, they may appear too tame, uniform, and gentle ; for they come, —

" Not from the grand old masters,
Not from the bards sublime,
Whose distant footsteps echo
Through the corridors of time " ; —

but,

" from some humbler poet,
Whose songs gushed from his heart,
As showers from the clouds of summer,
Or tears from the eyelids start ;

" Who, through long days of labor,
And nights devoid of ease,
Still heard in his soul the music
Of wonderful melodies.

" Such songs have power to quiet
The restless pulse of care,
And come like the benediction
That follows after prayer."

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2. — *Conversations on some of the Old Poets*. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Cambridge: John Owen. 1845. 12mo. pp. 263.

THESE Conversations, as Mr. Lowell states in his "Address to the Reader," lay no claim to the dramatic character. The dialogue form is adopted as a convenient medium through which the opinions of the author may be conveyed. A part of the matter of the book was published, in a different shape, some years since, in a magazine. The writer is an enthusiastic student of the old English poetry. His own poetical style is deeply tinged with the coloring drawn from it; his prose style, also, is enriched and invigorated by the same healthful influence. Though sparkling with too many ornaments, it is generally tasteful and elegant. He chooses his words as Allston chose his colors; and a page of his writing, in the best passages of this work, has the effect of an exquisite picture. Style has evidently been an object on which he has severely exercised his fine powers; and the rich fruits of his manly labors are apparent, we had almost said, more profusely in his prose than in his poetry.

The first and most elaborate of these Conversations is on the writings of Chaucer, who seems to be one of Mr. Lowell's prime favorites, as he must be of all persons of poetic sensibility, who have taken the pains to pierce through the rough outside to the rich and flavorful core. The criticisms on this racy old Londoner are conceived and written with an appreciating warmth of sympathy, which carries the reader pleasantly along the full tide of the critic's enthusiastic eloquence. We hardly know where to look for so thorough and intelligent, as well as so loving, an exposition of the old master. The passages quoted from Chaucer are slightly altered in orthography and phrase; but, although for ourselves we prefer the *ipsissima verba* of the noble old poet to any that may diminish their racy rudeness, it is but justice to the exquisite tact and keen perception of Mr. Lowell to say, that his translations, if such they may be called, preserve the very spirit and flavor, if not the very form and pressure, of the ancient English; and for the purpose which he had in view, it was better, perhaps, to present them in this form, than to take them in their original roughness. All that the critic says, in passing judgment on the transformations of Chaucer by Dryden and Pope, is perfectly true.

The two succeeding dialogues are on the old dramatists, and particularly on Chapman and Ford. They are marked by a fineness, tact, and sympathizing discrimination, similar to that so

admirably displayed in the discussions on Chaucer; and the passages quoted from their writings cannot fail to excite the reader to make himself further acquainted with them.

The discursive style, permissible in the dialogue, has given Mr. Lowell an opportunity to introduce a number of side discussions, and to throw out a variety of *obiter dicta*, which will not meet with the same degree of approbation as the criticism on the old poets. The uniform and systematic disparagement of Pope is an instance of narrowness into which a man of generous culture ought not to have allowed himself to fall. It is a one-sided and partial judgment, of a character precisely similar to that of the critic who should deny all merit to Chaucer because Chaucer is unlike Pope, or to Gray because Gray is unlike either. Mr. Lowell sometimes condescends to indulge in sneers. A sneer is always unjust and in very bad taste. The "church" comes in for the largest share of his contempt, and the critics next. The ordinary bad taste of a sneer is, in the former instance, increased by its being applied sweepingly to a whole body, and that, too, a body united not by the bonds of any worldly interest, but by the highest concerns of the immortal soul. Mr. Lowell repeatedly declares his contempt for satire and the satirists; but satire, unamiable as it is, is far less repulsive than a sneer. To speak lightly of what has been long held sacred, and to offend the sincere convictions of men by stinging phrases, do not prove the superior wisdom or the higher honesty of the utterer, but only that he thinks more highly of himself than he ought. As to the critics, that is a matter for the assailant and the assailed to settle between themselves.

Questions of art are sometimes decided by Mr. Lowell in an off-hand manner, which those who know the least about the subject are the most likely to adopt. The beautiful piece of sculpture executed by Mr. Crawford for the Boston Athenæum—one of the very few works which we have in the United States in the highest classical style of the art—is "put down" by an unanswerable sneer concerning Lemprière's Classical Dictionary; and the great æsthetic question of drapery in sculpture—a question which may well require long study and profound consideration to settle it on its true grounds—is quite summarily despatched, by the usual cant about the improbability of General Washington appearing in a Roman dress before an assembly of his countrymen; as if sculpture, ancient or modern, were called upon to perpetuate the conceptions of the tailor, the shoemaker, and the hatter; and as if the pig-tail, the cocked-hat, and the breeches, which have so ludicrously disguised the dignity of the

human form in modern times, must be rendered perdurable, by being sent down to posterity in the eternal marble. The mistake arises from confounding drapery with dress, two things essentially different, and not more different now than they were in the highest bloom of Grecian art. The one is a matter of art, and wholly subservient to artistic effect; the other a matter of personal convenience, and shifting in form and fashion every day. The young gentlemen of Athens no more appeared in the streets in the dresses of the immortal Panathenaic procession on the friezes of the Parthenon, than they rode living horses unsaddled and unbridled, as those figures bestride their marble steeds.

We dwell on these points the more, because Mr. Lowell, in the exuberant confidence of his youthful genius, has, by yielding to the lower and more pugnacious part of his nature, disturbed the delightful effect which his hearty and genial book would otherwise have produced. Cant of all sorts is in the worst taste; he has run away from one sort of it, to fall occasionally into another. The cant of singularity and contempt, the cant of despising established things and settled convictions, merely because they are established and settled, is quite as unworthy of the true man of genius, as the cant of uncompromising conservatism.

3. — *The Magic Goblet, or the Consecration of the Church of Hammarby.* By MRS. EMILIE CARLEN. Translated from the original Swedish. New York. 1845.

WE have shared in the pleasure so generally diffused in this country by the writings of Frederika Bremer; but if her stories have opened the door for an inundation of such novels as this, we could earnestly wish that her name had never reached our shores. Mrs. Carlen is not destitute of invention. She has made machinery enough, but has forgotten to supply a sufficient motive power. We have followed the development of the narrative with constantly increasing dislike; it is all a wild phantasmagoria of unmixed and unaccountable evil. The good spirit which, in some shape, everywhere prevails in the productions of Miss Bremer, and in whose protection for our favorites we have learned to confide, is, in Mrs. Carlen's wisdom, left out of the account. Evil predominates, and admiring virtue bows before it. Among other scenes described are some love passages with a married man who makes no concealment of his guilt, which are an outrage on all womanly delicacy; and an accidental meeting between the noble and deserted "wife and the beloved," — the

heroine, who has watched and waited for her ruin, and who has come to receive vows of eternal fidelity from the husband of another woman. There is a murder, too; and this same husband, the prime cause of all the wrong, is blessed in the conviction, that a beautiful girl, another victim, is at least happy in the "consciousness of dying in his arms." This hero may well put to shame the worst of Bulwer's highwaymen; and it may be doubted if the vilest of his works has brought to our unguarded homes a more dangerous lesson than that which is taught through the whole book of this Swedish authoress.

4. — 1. *An Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, November 13, 1844.* By THOMAS G. CARY. Boston: Little & Brown. 1845. Svo. pp. 39.
2. *The Result of Manufactures at Lowell: a Letter from the Treasurer of a Corporation to John S. Pendleton, Esq., Virginia.* By THOMAS G. CARY. Boston. 1845. Svo. pp. 23.

THESE two pamphlets by Mr. Cary are marked by the general characteristics which were displayed in his famous "Letter to a Lady in France." They are written in a style of great ease, elegance, and perspicuity; and the subjects of which they treat are handled with the practical clearness and good sense of the man of affairs, and with the grace which the cultivation of art and literature sheds over the daily occupations of busy life.

The lecture delivered before the Mercantile Library Association is on the general subject of the dependence of the fine arts, for encouragement in a republic, on the security of property; and subsidiary to this comprehensive topic is an inquiry into the causes of frequent failure among men of business. In illustration of the practicability of cultivating a taste for the fine arts in our tumultuous democracy, Mr. Cary relates the history of a man whose business, one would suppose, lay among the most unpoetical and least æsthetic pursuits that can be imagined. If any form of active life is unfavorable to the cultivation of a taste for the fine arts, most people would unhesitatingly say it is the life of a grocer. And yet this gentleman, Mr. Luman Reed, although dying in the prime of life, left "a collection of paintings, engravings, shells, and other objects of beauty and interest altogether so valuable, that it is proposed to make them the com-

mencement of a public gallery in New York"; and he left, proceeds the lecturer, "an establishment in business, conducted on principles so secure, that it has been a school of industrious success to younger men, who owe their prosperity mainly to him."

The remainder of the lecture abounds in wise practical suggestions to business men, which contain the results of long and careful observation and much experience in the management of extensive commercial affairs. The excellence of the matter and the transparent beauty of the style harmonize well together.

The letter on the Lowell manufactures is a plain and perspicuous statement of facts which all may understand. It removes the clouds of darkness which in the public mind have long overhung the subject, and proves, beyond the possibility of contradiction, the absurdity of the declamations indulged in by Southern politicians and Northern demagogues, upon the extravagant gains made by the manufacturers. We commend the pamphlet to the attention of all who wish to understand a subject so intimately connected with the prosperity of the country, and about which many of our popular leaders are so ignorant and wrong-headed. We regret that we have no space left for copying some of its luminous statements, which are in themselves most convincing arguments.

5.—*Rules of Proceeding and Debate in Deliberative Assemblies.*

By LUTHER S. CUSHING. Boston: William J. Reynolds. 1845.

THE oft-quoted maxim, that knowledge is power, is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in the conduct and proceedings of deliberative assemblies. No man can ever feel his feet firm beneath him, until he has mastered the rules and orders of the body to which he belongs. Without this knowledge, the boldest spirit is checked, and the brightest faculties suffer a partial eclipse. By the help of this knowledge, men of moderate faculties are often able to turn the flank of the most brilliant debater, and to wrest from him the trophies of his eloquence. Dumont, in his agreeable "*Recollections of Mirabeau*," gives some curious instances of the confusion and loss of time produced in the popular elections in France, just before the convocation of the States General, by the entire ignorance, on the part of the people, of the common forms of organization and procedure. At Montreuil, in particular, where he was breakfasting by chance with Mirabeau and another friend, he was informed by

the host, that two or three days had already been lost in the primary assembly in tumult and disorder, no one knowing what to do or what to propose; and that there was no prospect of their ever coming to shape and order. In a mirthful moment, the thought seized them of making themselves legislators of Montreuil. Pen and paper were called for, and amid peals of laughter a code of procedure was drawn up for the good people of that place, in town-meeting assembled, as we should say. What was done by them in a frolic was taken by their host in sober earnest. Armed with the instructions which his guests had drawn up, he proceeded to the place of meeting, and soon arranged its chaotic elements into an orderly system. To complete the joke, the travellers had the satisfaction of reading in the public prints of Paris, on their return, that the assembly of Montreuil had been the very first in the kingdom to complete their elections, and had earned great commendation on account of the order which had marked their proceedings.

The rules and orders of the English parliament form the basis of those by which all deliberative assemblies in the United States are governed. These are characterized by that wisdom and sagacity which form such prominent traits in the character of the Anglo-Saxon mind, and are so strongly reflected in the history and politics of Great Britain. They are admirably calculated to insure the despatch of business; and though some of them may seem arbitrary and unreasonable, yet, on experience, all will be found to rest upon sound reason. No man can study the history of the English House of Commons, without a deep sense of the wisdom which at all times has marked its proceedings, and which shines no less conspicuously in its rules and orders, than in its debates and enactments.

Mr. Jefferson's "Manual" has long been the standard authority on this subject in the United States, and deservedly so. It is a work of great merit. It is full, clear, and exact. Every thing necessary or desirable may be found somewhere in its pages. As a manual of reference, to lie on the table of a presiding officer, its merits can hardly be surpassed. For this purpose, indeed,—to serve as a guide to the author in his duties as presiding officer of the Senate,—the work was originally compiled. Consequently, the practical element was kept paramount, and no particular care was taken to insure a natural and methodical arrangement. Distinct reference was had in every case to the exigencies and necessities of Congress, and no other assembly was present in the compiler's mind.

The object of Judge Cushing has been to consider the rules for the governing of deliberative assemblies in their most compre-

hensive aspect, and to throw them, as far as possible, into a general formula. In his preface, he states that his treatise "is intended as a manual for deliberative assemblies of every description, but more especially for those which are not legislative in their character; though, with the exception of the principal points in which legislative bodies differ from others, namely, the several different stages or readings of a bill, and conferences and amendments between the two branches, this work will be found equally useful in legislative assemblies as in others."

Judge Cushing has uncommon qualifications for such a work. For many years he discharged the duties of clerk of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts with great fidelity and skill, and became practically familiar, in that capacity, with parliamentary law and practice. The clerk of the House is called upon to preside in the brief interval which elapses between his own election and that of a speaker. This is usually but a few moments; but in the stormy session of 1843, owing to peculiar circumstances, this short space was expanded into several days, during which Judge Cushing won golden opinions from men of all parties by the firmness, dignity, impartiality, and knowledge with which he presided over the angry debates of the House. He sat, day after day, like another *Æolus*, calm amidst the warring winds of party strife, always vigilant in observation, courteous in manner, and prompt in decision. He guided the House in safety through the mazes of a most intricate and impassioned discussion, which no one could have done who had not at his fingers' ends the details of parliamentary proceeding.

As might have been expected from the character of Judge Cushing's mind, and from the extent of his experience, the treatise which he has compiled is one of peculiar value. It is at once philosophical and practical. The regular distribution of its materials, its luminous method, and the natural order in which the topics are treated, will commend it to those who look upon a book as a work of art, and are not satisfied with the best of matter, unless it be arranged with a master's hand. Minds of this class will also be attracted by the admirable precision and accuracy of the style. It has been the writer's aim, also, wherever practicable, to give the reason of established usages, to trace them back to their origin, and to show the ground on which they were originally made to rest.

The practical value of the treatise also is not less conspicuous. The plan of the work, of course, excludes the consideration of those special rules which each deliberative assembly adopts for its own guidance and government. Its subject is what may be called the common law of deliberative assemblies; those ele-

mentary and essential principles, which regulate the organization and procedure of the town-meeting as well as of the legislature. It gives to the presiding officer an outline of his rights and duties, sufficient in ordinary cases to enable him fully to maintain the former and discharge the latter, and in every case requiring no other filling up than that furnished by the body itself over which he presides.

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6. — *Letters from a Landscape Painter.* By the Author of "Essays for Summer Hours." Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 265.

THESE Letters have many graphic touches, which show the artist eye of their ingenious author. They contain lively sketches of natural scenery, and amusing narratives of travelling incidents. At times, a striking poetical expression flashes upon us, illuminating the page like a gleam of light, as when the clouds that encompass the rising sun, as seen from a mountain-top, are said to be "like a band of cavaliers, preparing to accompany their leader on a journey. Out of the Atlantic have they just risen; at noon, they will have pitched their tents in the cerulean plains of heaven; and when the hours of the day are numbered, the far-off waters of the Pacific will again receive them in its cool embrace." And again, the magnificent view from the summit of Mount Washington is most happily hit off by the bold expression, "an epic landscape." We might make out a long list of similar poetic felicities of phrase.

On the other hand, the style of this writer is often incorrect; his pleasantry and smartness are too studied, and often do not "voluntary move." The interjections and exclamations, with which the Letters are studded over, run quite too often into a flat key; for instance, it makes one shiver to read, at the close of a description of some fine scenery in Vermont, such a lackadaisical platitude as this: "O, the dear, dear women, I verily believe they will be the ruin of me!" The letter-writer should also have been cautious of slandering the memory of a departed poet, by imagining — and imagining such a murder of the king's English is as bad as imagining the king's own death, for which terrible penalties are enacted in the law of treason — by imagining, we repeat, the possibility of Coleridge's perpetrating such a shocking vulgarity as to say, "we *laid* down in our loneliness."

The volume, however, is very readable and pleasant; but the writer can do much better, if he will think a little more of style, and be a little more select in the thoughts which he presents to the public.

7. — *Life of Godfrey William von Leibnitz, on the Basis of the German Work of Dr. G. E. Guhrauer.* By JOHN M. MACKIE. Boston : Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln. 1845. 12mo. pp. 288.

THE remark may be applied in its full force to Leibnitz, which was first uttered, we believe, in regard to a distinguished person of very versatile talents in our own day, that "science was his *forte*, and omniscience his *foible*." Most readers have some idea of the extent of his researches in mathematics and physics, of the vast stores of his erudition, both classical and scholastic, of his manifold contributions to the sciences of German antiquities and Roman jurisprudence, and of his profound and original, but vague and speculative, system of general philosophy. He attempted every thing, accomplished much, but perfected nothing. The universality of his aims constantly interfered with the thoroughness of his work in any one department of discovery or invention ; and he may be said to have sacrificed the stable reputation of the founder or improver of a particular science, in his pursuit of the glittering, but evanescent, fame of a universal genius. He was often on the verge of making important discoveries, but was stopped on the threshold by his multifarious occupations ; and he consequently had frequent occasion to quarrel with the more patient laborers, who obtained all the glory of success by taking up his vague hints and imperfect sketches, and carrying the investigation resolutely to the end.

Mr. Mackie has rendered good service by giving the English reader a succinct and perspicuous account of the life and writings of Leibnitz. The basis of the book is the biography of him recently published in Germany by Dr. Guhrauer. This work is abridged, divested of its German peculiarities and of much irrelevant matter, and adapted with tact and skill to the wants of students in this country and in England. The translation of the selected parts is remarkably well done ; the language being clear, flowing, and correct, and the version sufficiently faithful. To modify the work of a learned German, and thus to adapt it to English use, is a far more valuable service to our countrymen than to give an exact and entire transcript of the original. Few of the ponderous exhibitions of Teutonic industry and learning will bear a faithful version into English with any advantage. Cumbrous alike in form and matter, laden with pedantry, obscure and far-fetched in allusions and illustrations, when imported whole, they are as unpalatable as sour-kraut to an Anglo-Saxon taste. The example which Mr. Mackie has set we commend to

the attention of all neophyte translators from the German, of whom we have such a swarm in our climate. We commend his work, also, both to the student of philosophy, and to the general reader who may wish to form some clear notion of the life and services of that great man, who was at once the fellow-laborer of Arnauld and Spinoza, the rival of Newton and Locke, and the progenitor of Kant and Schelling.

8. — *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind to the Corporation.* Boston. 1845. 8vo. pp. 78.

No institution has done more honor to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, than the asylum for the blind, at South Boston. It has been fortunate in its inception, fortunate in its progress, fortunate in its results: but it has been thrice fortunate in having enjoyed from the beginning the services of the distinguished gentleman who has superintended its affairs. Dr. Howe's achievements in the cause of humanity it would be idle and almost presumptuous to praise; but we may be allowed to say, and we are sure the whole world will respond to the assertion, that the education of a mind from which all knowledge was quite shut out, save by a single avenue, and that the narrowest of all, is a grand result of the application of genius, and patient thought, and disinterested devotion to the relief of suffering humanity, which has for the first time been exhibited to the admiring contemplation of mankind. It is a deed that will make the doer's name dear to the coming ages; it is one in whose great light the ordinary results of human intellect and industry shrink into comparative insignificance.

The Report of the last year is one of the most interesting that have yet been made. After an exposition of the state of the institution, follows an Appendix, containing a series of communications from Dr. Howe, which will be read with the liveliest curiosity. The first is a continuation of the history of Laura Bridgman, and embodies some particulars in the development of her moral and intellectual nature, which will be likely to attract the closest attention of philosophical minds. The religious public have looked with profound interest to her case, hoping to draw from it some light to clear up the dark questions of speculative faith; and the injudicious ardor of some religious zealots has led them, as it appears by this paper, to thwart, to a cer-

tain extent, in the absence of Dr. Howe, the scheme of moral training which he had traced out. It is to be lamented, that, in such a peculiar case, the right purposes of piety should have been guided by so wrong a judgment; but the improper tampering with the poor girl's religious nature has had at least the good effect of convincing all, of whatever faith, that the attempt to make Laura comprehend the great truths of the Christian religion through the metaphorical and symbolical language in which sectarians see fit to clothe their faith must prove, in the present state of her mental development, not only wholly unsuccessful, but exceedingly dangerous. The wisdom of Dr. Howe's plan, and the soundness of his views, could not have been more satisfactorily demonstrated; and it is to be hoped, that, henceforth, inexperienced zealots will keep their clumsy hands off from a work that requires such infinite tact and delicacy.

The case of Oliver Caswell is scarcely, if at all, less interesting than that of Laura Bridgman. The third paper in the Appendix is a long and very interesting letter by Dr. Howe, detailing the particulars in the case of a deaf, dumb, and blind woman, which fell under his observation at Gosport, England. This is followed by an account of an institution in Bruges, where a person suffering the same privations as Laura Bridgman is in the successful process of education, by the same methods of teaching. Several other interesting and affecting cases are briefly described, and with them the Report closes.

There is one part of the machinery of education in this institution, which deserves the particular attention of the public; and that is the printing. More books for the blind have come from the South Boston press, than from all other institutions in England and the United States together. The expenses of this operation have been defrayed wholly by money obtained from liberal gentlemen, by the private solicitation of the superintendent. But no printing has been executed during the past year, for want of funds. It is stated, however, that the director has just put to press a work on natural philosophy, and that he has commenced a "Cyclopædia for the Blind," of which four or five volumes will be published during the year, if sufficient aid can be procured. It cannot be doubted, that so noble an object will meet the favorable notice of the charitable citizens of Boston, and that the needful funds will at once be raised, without adding to the responsible and absorbing labors of the director the task of going from door to door to collect the contributions of the generous. Let an effort be made to place this most important department on a permanent and liberal basis, by the concerted action of the humane. Some of the overflowing wealth of Boston may well

be made to run in this direction ; and surely no better use can be made of the bounteous gifts with which our city is blessed, than in blessing the blind, the deaf, and the dumb, by enlarging the boundaries of their knowledge.

9. — 1. *Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy*. Published under the Direction of the Philadelphia Society for the Alleviation of the Miseries of Public Prisons. Vol. I. No. I. January, 1845. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 96.
2. *First Report of the Prison Association of New York*. December, 1844. New York. 8vo. pp. 63.

WE have no room to go into even a statement of the deeply interesting subjects discussed in these two pamphlets. The one first mentioned is the commencement of a periodical publication, particularly occupied with expounding the principles of the Philadelphia system of prison discipline. A controversy has for some time existed, as the public well know, upon the respective merits of the Philadelphia and Auburn systems ; and the cause of truth and justice and humanity, as well as of policy, is deeply concerned in having both sides of the question illustrated by all the light that their advocates can throw upon them. It is, therefore, a fit subject of congratulation, that the able advocates of the Pennsylvania penitentiaries have taken this mode of explaining and defending their views.

The second pamphlet is a very satisfactory report of the Prison Association recently established in New York. Besides the constitution of the Society, it contains a collection of valuable statistics, which deserve the attention of the public, and have an important bearing upon the questions as to the proper treatment of crime and criminals.

10. — *The Odyssey of Homer, according to the Text of Wolf, with Notes ; for the Use of Schools and Colleges*. By J. J. OWEN, Principal of the Cornelius Institute. New York : Leavitt, Trow, & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 516.

WE have examined this edition of the "Odyssey" with considerable care, and great satisfaction with the manner in which Mr.

Owen has performed his editorial labor. The excellent edition of the "Anabasis," published some time since by the same able scholar, and noticed in this Journal, had prepared the public to receive the "Odyssey" with approbation. It will fully bear out the expectations which Mr. Owen's previous work had excited. The Greek text is neatly and carefully printed; a map of Ithaca, after Leake, is prefixed; two hundred pages of notes in English are appended; and these are followed by a very convenient grammatical index and an index of persons. We have carefully read a large portion of the notes, and it is but justice to the accomplished editor, who is also one of the most distinguished classical teachers in our country, to say, that they are excellently adapted to the instruction of the young classical scholars for whom they were designed. They are learned without pedantry, and concise without obscurity; and they abound in elegant criticism. The points of real difficulty are treated with perspicuity, and the best sources of illustration have been conscientiously used.

For the first time, a useful and scholarlike edition of the most delightful narrative poem of antiquity has appeared in the United States; and the favorable reception it has met with is a good omen for the cause of ancient literature among us.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Rural Economy in its Relations with Chemistry, Physics, and Meteorology; or Chemistry applied to Agriculture. By J. B. Boussingault, Member of the Institute of France, etc. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by George Law, Agriculturist. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 507.

The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D., late Head-Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M. A. First American from the Third English Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 516.

Stable Economy: a Treatise on the Management of Horses, in Relation to Stabling, Grooming, Feeding, Watering, and Working. By John Stewart. From the Third English Edition, with Notes and Additions, adapting it to American Food and Climate. By A. B. Allen. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 378.

Latin Lessons and Reader, with Exercises for the Writing of Latin; introductory to Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar, and to Nepos or Cæsar, and Krebs's Guide. By Allen H. Weld, A. M. Second Edition, enlarged. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. 1845. 12mo. pp. 231.

Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard, of South Carolina, from the Year 1774 to 1804; with a short Memoir. Vol. I. New York: Charles S. Francis & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 390.

A Treatise upon the Diseases and Hygiene of the Organs of the Voice. By Colombat de l'Isère. Translated by J. F. W. Lane, M. D. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 220.

An Elementary Treatise on Arithmetic, designed as an Introduction to Peirce's Course of Pure Mathematics, and as a Sequel to the Arithmetics used in High Schools. By Thomas Hill. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 85.

Historical Sketches of O'Connell and his Friends, with a Glance at the Future Destiny of Ireland. By Thomas D. McGee. Boston: Donahoe and Rowan. 1845. 12mo. pp. 205.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester. December, 1844. 8vo. pp. 112.

The Relation of Christianity to Politics: a Discourse delivered on the Day of Public Thanksgiving, Nov. 28, 1844. By William Hague, Pastor of the Church in Federal Street, Boston. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 12mo. pp. 32.

The Present Means of Suppressing Intemperance: an Address delivered at Fitchburg, before the Washington Total Abstinence Society. By Charles Mason. Fitchburg: S. & C. Shepley. 1845. 12mo. pp. 22.

Remarks upon the Controversy between Massachusetts and South Carolina. By a Friend to the Union. Boston: Crosby and Nichols. 1845. 8vo. pp. 21.

An Introductory Discourse on Medical Education, delivered to the Students of Geneva Medical College, October 1, 1844. By Charles A. Lee, M. D. Geneva: Ira Merrell. 8vo. pp. 40.

The Claims of Religion upon Medical Men: a Discourse delivered in Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1844. By H. A. Boardman. Third Edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Ellis. 8vo. pp. 24.

The Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by W. Gilmore Simms. January, 1845. Charleston: Burges and James. 1845. 8vo. pp. 72.

Justice to the Memory of John Fitch, who, in 1785, invented a Steam Engine and Steamboat. By Charles Whittlesey. Cincinnati. 1845. 8vo. pp. 12.

The Stay and the Staff taken away: a Discourse occasioned by the Death of Hon. William Prescott, LL. D., delivered in the Church on Church Green, Dec. 15, 1844. By Alexander Young. Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 34.

Discourse on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of William Penn, delivered Oct. 24, 1844, before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. By Job R. Tyson, one of the Vice-Presidents. Philadelphia: John Penington. 8vo. pp. 40.

The House of God: a Discourse delivered before the Second Presbyterian Church of Mobile, Ala., Nov. 21, 1844. By W. A. Scott, D. D. New Orleans: W. H. Foy. 8vo. pp. 40.

Third Annual Report to the Legislature relating to the Registry and Returns of Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Massachusetts, for the Year ending May 1, 1844. By John G. Palfrey, Secretary to the Commonwealth. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 1845. 8vo. pp. 110.

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